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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

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16 JULY 1987

## NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

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# CONDUCT OF ANCIENT SHIITE ISLAMIC SECT EXAMINED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic 10 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Samih 'Abdallah: "The Bohora in Cairo -- Why Did They Come?"]

[Text] Have you heard or read about another Islamic sect, known as the Bohora?

Do you know the history of this sect, or the essence of its beliefs? Are they ordinary Moslems like you and me, or are the Bohora distinctive? What do the scholars of Islam say about them? What do they say about themselves? Where did they come from? What are their rituals? Why is their presence in the Arab Republic of Egypt increasing? What activities do they engage in in their daily life?

The Bohora are an Islamic sect. In their statements, they assert that they believe in God, his books, prophets and angels, and the day of judgment, but their presence in Egpt, in spite of these statements, has come to embody a controversy among members of religious entities in Egypt. Even the sheykh's and scholars of the Islamic religion have come to demand an end to the Bohora's increasing presence, stressing that they represent another threat to the belief of the Moslems in addition to their practices, which reveal their earlier intentions of remaining in the Egyptian nation and settling down here. What is the story? What is the dispute? AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI offers a full picture through this report.

Dr 'Abd-al-Ghani al-Rajihi, professor in the Faculty of Islamic and Secular Law, asserted that the Bohora conceal things in their hearts which they do not declare. He stated that their prayers and fasting are only a curtain behind which many forms of heresy and waywardness which contradict the essence of true Islam are hidden.

Dr al-Rajihi said that the Bohora are a sect of people who violate Islam and that in reality (God forbid) they are closer to apostasy than to devotion, because they confuse the old Islamic religion with other legacies and rituals of peoples. They also add things to the faith which do not exist in it and remove things from it which are of its essence, since the Islamic belief, to the Bohora, ultimately becomes some other belief, different from that which the Moslems know of Islam!

In further explanation of this general picture, His Eminence Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, former minister of religious endowments, said that the Bohora are one of the branches into which the Shiite group split off and that the Shiites in their turn are the people who adhered to the belief that the Imam 'Ali Ibn Abu Talib, may God be generous with his image, was the imam and caliph directly after the prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace. These Shiites have tried to base themselves on stipulations from the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet, as they have tried to say that all the companions but four (Abu Dhurr, al-Miqdad, 'Ammar and Salman al-Farisi) conspired to wrest power from 'Ali so that Abu Bakr the Honest could assume it. These Shiites have also said that the companions removed from the holy Koran the chapters and verses which give 'Ali the right to rule and that they have renounced the traditions of the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, on the same subject.

Therefore, the Shiites believe that the companions, may God's contentment be upon them, are all hypocrites and that all but the abovementioned four committed aggression against the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet!

Moreover, His Eminence Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr said that the Shiites, who include the Bohora, also give as grounds for their religious belief that the imam is a religious position, the holy Koran has stipulated this, and the holy prophetic sayings and doings of the prophet have stipulated this!

They believe that the imamate is a sixth pillar of Islam, same as the obligation of prayer and the obligation of the fast, and they consider that people who do not believe in this belief of theirs are tantamount to people who do not believe in prayer or fasting, or any of the other pillars of Islam; the people who do not believe that the imamate is the sixth pillar of Islam are infidels, to the Bohora!

Another thing is that the imam himself, to the Bohora, is a matter of inheritance and is immune from error, an heir to the knowledge of what has been and one who knows the science of what will be up to judgment day, and that the source of this "inheritance" is the imam 'Ali, may God be generous with his image!

#### The Groups of Shiites

A nation was established for the Shiites in Morocco, the Fatimid state (in the Islamic year 297). Dr al-Nimr went on to say that this nation took over Egypt in the Islamic year 358, and when this nation fell many groups branched out from it.

Each of these groups considered itself the natural extension of the Fatimid state. These groups include the Bohora sect. The Bohora, or the Buhara, are now settled in the Indian port of Bombay, where their sultan, Dr Burhan al-Din, resides.

The former Egyptian minister of religious endowments, who is a prominent scholar of the holy al-Azhar, said that while the Bohora's forms of worship

on the surface resemble ours, their inner forms of worship are hidden from people, and they are concerned to hide them because they are what differentiate them from the Sunnite Moslems like us.

For that reason the Sunnites are not cognizant of these hidden forms of worship of the Bohora, except for some elite scholars. The word Bohora itself in the language of India means "merchants," and Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr believes that the Bohora are indeed very skilful in the affairs of commerce and investment.

#### The Bohora in Cairo?

The members of the Bohora sect are concentrated in two basic areas of the city of Cairo. They are concentrated first of all in the al-Jamaliyah section which is located behind the mosque of Our Lord Imam al-Husayn, may God be content with him, to Bab al-Futuh. Archaeologists say that the reason for this is that the al-Jamaliyah section is part of the Cairo of al-Mu'izz li-Din Allah the Fatimid and because it contains the mosque of al-Anwar, al-Hakim bi-Amr Allah, the mosque which they themselves are repairing.

The Bohora sect has a house in this section which they own, and they have two plots of land in a street known as al-Dababiyah street.

The members of the Bohora sect engage in some commercial activities in the al-Jamaliyah section through four shops which they run and whose activities range from selling paint to hardware and groceries.

The second area of the concentration of Bohora in Cairo is the al-Muhandisin section on the other bank of the Nile River, in the jurisdiction of Giza Governorate. It is common for passers-by in al-Thamar, al-Ashjar, Abd-al-Mun'im Riyad and other streets in this section to meet members of the sect at any time of the day.

In the al-Muhandisin section, the Bohora have an investment and export office which is active essentially in the tea trade.

#### The Bohora and the Fatimid Monuments!

Mr Jawdah Sharaf, antiquity inspection director of north Cairo, said that the Bohora manifest great interest in the repair work bearing on Fatimid mosques.

He cited as an example of that the repair work bearing on the al-Anwar mosque, which has taken place in a number of stages and has taken a number of years. The late president Anwar al-Sadat inaugurated it in 1980, when the site where the al-Anwar mosque was located before construction consisted of a school and soccer field. He said that what was done was a reconstruction of the old mosque in a manner which totally resembled the original structure of the mosque.

However, as Mr Jawdah said, the situation requires great effort in order for the old foundations of the columns to be discovered and rebuilt on. The sect

has also assumed the task of installing a motor to raise water from a well situated in the mosque courtyard and prepare it to be a place for people performing prayers.

While the people of the Bohora sect assume charge of daily maintenance activities in the mosque in the form of sanitation and so forth, representatives of the Ministry of Religious Endowments are in charge of holding religious observances in the mosque. However, that does not mean that the sect itself does not perform its observances in the mosque in its own way, without mixing with the other people at prayer, even during the Friday prayer! They have their own group in a special area separate from the other group which the imam assigned by the Egyptian Ministry of Religious Endowments leads in prayer.

#### A Meeting with the Bohora

Now:

What do the Bohora say about themselves and their presence in Egypt, and the attack levelled against them?

Shaykh Muhammad Hasan 'Ali, director of the office of the sultan of the Bohora in Cairo and overseer of the sect's affairs there, said that the Bohora's relations with Egypt are strong and go back many years.

He pointed out, for example, that the sultan of the Bohora visited Egypt in 1936 and that Nahhas Pasha, on whom God have mercy, visited him. He used these visits as evidence of strong relations during this period.

He then said, "The Bohora are the descendants of the Fatimids who settled in Egypt at some period of history, and the Fatimids, as you of course know, are the people who built Cairo and built al-Azhar, the pride of Egypt in the Islamic world."

He went on to say that the current presence of the Bohora in the Arab Republic of Egypt has been accompanied by a form of activity in their performance of some repair work on Fatimid mosques in the al-Jamaliyah section. He said, "With praise to God, we have completed the repairs related to the al-Anwar mosque and we are currently investigating the repair of the al-Aqmar mosque, following the agreement of the Authority of Antiquities. We have also given two additional stalls to the mosques of Imam al-Husayn and Sayyidah Zaynab, may God's contentment be upon them."

[Question] There are people who believe that you have latent purposes in your presence in Egypt, especially since your entry into the area of commerce and your possession of real estate indicates an intention to remain for long periods.

[Answer] First of all, we have directives from his magnificence the sultan to invest in Egypt, and we are active in commerce. Our goal in these investments is to support the Egyptian economy, and Egypt welcomes, indeed seeks to attract, foreign investments. Isn't this the Egyptian government's policy?



The director of the office of the sultan of the Bohora and the overseer of their affairs in Cairo added, "Egyptian law allows all kinds of people to invest in Egypt, including Jews, whose danger for Islam is no secret. Why should we alone be prohibited from trading and be looked upon with doubt and suspicion?"

"I would like to point out that all our investments have been made in accordance with the law regulating them, and that Egyptians have 51 percent of every project we set up.

"As to the house we own in al-Jamaliyah, we are preparing that to be a hostel, an old Arab tradition which we still maintain just as we retain our genuine Arab dress, while the Arabs themselves are turning into 'Western gentlemen.'

"In India we have 70 hostels which receive travelers and lodge them during their travels. We organize religious tourist excursions to Egypt since the people of the sect come to visit Fatimid Cairo and the Fatimid antiquities present there before they go to perform the off-season pilgrimage. Thus it is not strange that we should have a hostel in Cairo."

No God but God!

[Question] You are accused of deviating from Islam. There are people who demand an end to your presence in the Arab Republic of Egypt.

[Answer] We are Moslems. We attest that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the prophet of God, and our book is the holy Koran. We follow all Islamic beliefs and engage in all the Moslems' religious observances. The non-Moslems are the people who say that we are not Moslems!

Shaykh Muhammad Hasan 'Ali then said, "They say that we have taken over the al-Anwar mosque. Look yourself! What do you see?"

"Has anyone prevented you from going into the mosque? Haven't you observed the presence of representatives of the religious endowments and antiquities in the mosque?"

"It is true that we are in charge of overseeing the mosque, and it is true that we are cleaning it, but what about that? Is that a sin?"

He went on, "For information's sake, this is not the first time we have been subjected to attack on the part of certain biased persons. We were subjected to attack before, a number of years ago, and we know who the people who are now asking for the withdrawal of the 'honorary doctorate' al-Azhar gave to Sultan Burhan al-Din are. I might just remind you that the people who built al-Azhar are our Fatimid forefathers."

Ours Is What Is Apparent and What Is Hidden Is God's

[Question] A final question to Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, before we close the pages of this report. What is your view on the call to expel the Bohora

sect from Egypt, based on doubt about the genuineness of their adherence to Islam and their objectives in being in Egypt?

[Answer] The order has good relations with many Islamic countries, especially Egypt, there is mutual "affection" between us and them, and their sultan and his brother, Dr Yusuf Najm al-Din, visit Egypt frequently.

We maintain our friendly ties with them, in carrying out the rule that ours is what is apparent and what is hidden is God's, leaving aside what is hidden within them, which they keep secret for God, since they do not talk about that with us and do not proselytize for it.

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## SURVEY OF GULF BANKS REFLECTS ECONOMIC AUSTERITY

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 29 May 87 pp 36-38

[Article by Walid Abi Murshid: "Test of Lean Years Strengthened Arab Banks"]

[Text] Arab countries' economies, the oil-producing ones in particular, are at the threshold of a promising period signalling a restabilization of world oil prices at \$18 a barrel and a clear trend toward a slow rise to possibly \$20 should the OPEC countries maintain their discipline and adherence to the quotas set by the last OPEC conference in Geneva.

But this promising picture of the Arab countries' economies is marred by some negative facts, the most significant of which are:

-- Financial difficulties caused by the sharp drop in oil revenues throughout the last 5 years that have been reflected in large deficits in most Arab budgets despite austerity measures and steps to rationalize public spending.

-- A sharp decline in government spending followed by a drop in oil revenues on the one hand, and the completion of most infrastructures in Gulf countries, on the other hand.

-- The economic slowdown brought about by cuts in government spending, the primary mover of business activity in the Gulf, and its ramifications on the Arab countries' economies in general.

-- Higher military spending at the expense of developmental spending due to the periodic escalation of the Gulf war and growing tension in the Middle East in general.

-- A smaller volume of foreign capital invested in the Arab region and a greater flow of Arab accounts to the outside due to the common fear of political unrest or to red tape that discourages investment.

It was natural that the economic climate that has prevailed in the Arab region since 1982 should have a direct impact on commercial bank activities, for the opportunities of rapid expansion and high profits are no longer available to Arab banking establishments in the wake of lower economic growth rates and less spending on development projects in the region. It was also natural that



the work of Arab bankers should be complicated as a result of a sluggish bank credit market, a higher percentage of doubtful debts and a lower interest on deposits which used to represent the most outstanding source of profitability. Accordingly, Arab banks, the Gulf ones particularly, have experienced a sharp rise in competition which in turn has contributed to lower profit margins in the Arab region in general.

The real challenge to the future of the Arab banking business, however, still lies in the radical shift in banking trends in world money markets represented in the western banks' growing tendency to offer full financial services to their clients. On the eve of this rapid shift in western banking practices and quality, Arab commercial banks find themselves before a double challenge stemming from the need to adjust to new economic conditions at home and to keep up with the rapid qualitative shift in banking trends abroad.

Generally speaking, Arab commercial banks seem to be headed--by choice or by necessity--for a fundamental and perhaps radical reexamination of their operating methods and procedures, particularly those operating in Arab countries that have no restrictions on the movement and transfer of capital. Hence, national banks in the Arab Gulf seem to be most ready to adapt to the new banking climate despite all the debt problems they have experienced.

But notwithstanding the common denominators, how does the current banking situation manifest itself in each of the Arab world countries?

#### 1. Saudi Arabia

Falling world oil prices--until the beginning of this year--and lower production rates--until last April--triggered a drop in state revenues and general spending. This drop coincided with the completion of the kingdom's infrastructures which indicated the end of the era of high development rates of about 9 percent annually, from the date of the first "oil shock" in 1973 up to 1981. This stage was followed by a period of slow growth at an annual rate of about 1.9 percent up until 1984 and a negative one in 1984 and 1985.

Since public spending is the primary mover of economic activity in the kingdom, lower oil revenues caused 1986 spending levels to drop by no less than 40 percent from the 1985 levels, particularly after the kingdom deferred the publication of the general budget and resumed current spending on the basis of the 12th rule. These rationalization measures led to a drop in current and investment spending of approximately SR 50 billion in 1986, bringing total spending to SR 150 billion, which is equal to 25 percent of public expenditures for the previous year.

In this economic climate, it was natural that Saudi Arabia should undergo some delicate changes after holding the lead in profitability. This stage was rendered more delicate by the higher volume of doubtful debts and loss of confidence in the ability of a number of traditional clients to fulfill their financial obligations.

Based on IMF figures, Saudi banks show a slight change in the volume of their total assets between 1984 and 1985. By the end of 1985, these assets amounted to \$41.4 billion, compared to \$41.6 billion by the end of 1984.

As for private sector liabilities--in the form of credit facilities--they amounted to \$16.7 billion at the end of 1985, a 1.35 percent drop from the previous year, but much higher than the year before (\$16.2 billion). It is indisputable, however, that part of the increase in the 1985 liabilities is due to new interest on debts that were rolled over and rescheduled instead of including them under the overdue account column.

From the standpoint of deposits, Saudi banks registered a slight increase of 1.6 percent in the total volume of 1985 deposits from the 1984 level. Likewise, capital and reserves registered an increase of \$344 million for 1985 compared to the 1984 level, or 29 percent over 1983. This increase was dictated by the banks' need to beef up their portfolios at a time when the volume of overdue accounts is rising year after year.

## 2. Kuwait:

The Kuwaiti economy has begun to recover slowly but surely from the impact of the September 1982 al-Manakh market crash and the Kuwaiti market is experiencing a new boom in the demand market, particularly following the stabilization of world oil prices. The drop in oil revenues was reflected in a 9.6 percent drop in the GNP for 1985 and prior to the OPEC December 1986 agreement to freeze prices at \$18 a barrel, the price of Kuwaiti oil was fluctuating between \$12 and \$14 a barrel. Consequently, the 1986-87 budget showed a deficit of KD 1,140 billion compared to 315 million in the previous budget. Add the capital appropriations to the generations fund and the deficit goes up to KD 1.331 billion.

Notwithstanding ongoing efforts to diversify sources of national income, the oil sector still plays a key role in the Kuwaiti economy. This sector has succeeded in branching out from the mere export of crude oil to oil exploration, drilling, engineering and, most recently, marketing following the purchase of oil equipment and a marketing net in Europe, a move that has helped to stem the drop in revenues and reduce the budget deficit. Nonetheless, the Kuwaiti economy is still the one most vulnerable to the escalation of the Iraq-Iran war because the continuation of the war deprives the Kuwaiti economy of the psychological stability factor it needs in the "post-al-Manakh Market" era.

From a banking point of view, the outstanding feature in the past 2 years has been the tighter control the Kuwaiti Central Bank has imposed on commercial banks and the implementation of the "doubtful debt settlement" plan the government announced last summer.

Serious efforts to implement this program have helped restore confidence in Kuwaiti banks and establishments, particularly following the rescheduling or settlement of most doubtful debts and the government's declared readiness to back any bank facing a shortage in its reserve arising from bad debts.

On the other hand, Kuwaiti banks' refraining for the last 2 years from distributing monetary profits to shareholders has expanded the capital base and improved their cover. The total budget of Kuwaiti commercial banks in the last year prior to the implementation of the "doubtful debt settlement plan" amounted to KD 9.244 billion as of September 1986, a 1.2 percent decrease from the 1985 level. As for the private sector liabilities for the same period, they amounted to KD 4.308 billion, an increase of 2.6 percent from the previous year's levels, while private deposits amounted to KD 4.256 and foreign assets to KD 2.284 billion against foreign liabilities of KD 1.218 billion. Both figures reflect a slight drop due to a decline in interbank activities in the money market. The ratio of liabilities to deposits amounted to 121 percent in September 1986 while deposits amounted to 46 percent and liabilities to 55.8 percent of total assets.

#### UAE:

The UAE has managed to adapt to the lower level of oil revenues and to the wide-spread departure of foreign employees. To cut public spending and bring the deficit to its minimum levels, the council of ministers deferred the ratification of the 1986 budget to the end of last October. Budget spending was reduced to DH 14.022 billion from the 1985 levels of DH 16.63 billion in view of the UAE's almost total dependence on oil revenues to finance the confederation's budget. Such revenues, originating mainly from Abu Dhabi and Dubai, have dropped 50 percent as of the beginning of 1981.

The UAE banking sector has faced difficulties similar to those faced by Gulf bankers in general. These difficulties came to a head in 1985, thus triggering a wave of necessary mergers in each of Dubai and Abu Dhabi based on the two emirates' official position of not allowing bank bankruptcies.

Of 54 banks operating in 1980 in the UAE, 49 survived. Central Bank intervention, specifically its request to banks not to offer unsecured loans, helped bring the banking situation under control. Unofficial estimates show that the private sector's outstanding debts amounted to DH 10 billion out of DH

30 billion.

Except for the mergers that represent the primary means of saving the weaker banks, the problem of doubtful debts still burdens the central monetary authority. The central bank's failure to offer appropriate aid to the national banks places the responsibility of such aid on the UAE alone, noting that the UAE's ability to fulfill such a responsibility varies sharply between the two rich emirates, namely Dubai and Abu Dhabi, and the rest of the country's emirates.

Unlike the Saudi system, the UAE legal system considers bank interest to be an inherent part of bank profits. Recent provisions, however, rejected the legality of compounded interest, authorizing only the simple interest with a 12 percent ceiling. But all this notwithstanding, the absence of a special commercial bankruptcy law deprives the banks of a legal guarantee to recover bad debts despite the court cases under litigation.

## Bahrain:

Bahrain's role as a regional financial center has rendered its banking center more susceptible than all other area sectors to economic recession in the Gulf. Nonetheless, the economy of Bahrain is distinguished from other GCC countries by its more diverse sources of income which are based on oil refining, financial and banking services, industry and tourism which has been recently enhanced by the inauguration of the "al-Mahabbah Bridge" linking the island with the eastern part of Saudi Arabia.

The diversity of the Bahraini economic base has helped ease the impact of the economic slowdown prevailing in the area since 1981. Notwithstanding the ceiling on oil and gas production, Bahrain has achieved high rates of economic growth by virtue of its growing role as a regional banking and financial center and the greater number of Gulf investments it has been able to attract to the heavy industries and the tourist sectors. The general economic climate and the Iran-Iraq war, however, have curtailed such growth and the real GNP income growth rate fell to between 1 and 2 percent in 1984 and 1985 and has prompted austerity measures to counter lower oil revenues that comprise 60 percent of the total national income. As of 1985, the spending cutback policy has succeeded in lowering the budget deficit. The 1986-87 budget manifested a clear tendency to maintain a fixed level of government spending with a 15 percent reduction in capital spending.

The number of off-shore banks in Bahrain is 60, but the state of stagnation that has dominated the region's economies since 1981 and the restrictions imposed by the Saudi monetary authority on "Eurocurrency" trading and lending have played a role in curtailing banking and financial activities in Bahrain. Between 1984 and 1985, the joint lending volume granted by Arab banks dropped 30 percent and, as of 1985, off-shore bank assets registered a sharp decline amounting to \$56.8 billion by the end of the year, compared to 62.7 billion in 1984. This decline is likely to continue in 1987.

Ever since 1986, foreign banks in Bahrain have been steadily curtailing their activities in Bahrain and some have left the island for good. This phenomenon, however, has coincided with a tendency by major Arab banks based in Bahrain to diversify their assets and to expand their foreign operations to make up for the downturn in the region's banking business.

Many bankers in Bahrain expect the number of off-shore banks to decline even more and their assets to shrink further. They predict more mergers among local banks, especially if the Iraq-Iran war continues.

## Qatar:

The small local market and the completion of infrastructure projects have helped Qatar to counter the negative impact of falling oil revenues and the austerity measures have led to the rationalization of public spending.

Oil comprises 50 percent of Qatar's GNP. Qatar's oil revenues have dropped from \$4,400 million in 1984 to \$1,800 million in 1986. Unlike most OPEC



producers, Qatar did not try in 1986 to increase its production to make up for the drop in the world oil price in keeping with its policy of extending the life of its oil fields.

Qatar ranks second, behind the UAE, in the ratio of commercial banks to the size of the population. Qatar has 15 commercial banks serving a population of no more than 220,000 souls. Moreover, 70 percent of banking transactions are monopolized by one major bank and the remaining 30 percent is shared by the other 14 banks. And even though 80 percent of bank loans in Qatar are considered uncovered, the problem of doubtful debts in the country is less severe than that of neighboring countries.

Qatar is distinguished by the key role the monetary authority plays in overseeing the money supply. In 1986, this authority for the first time required a mandatory reserve of 1.5 percent of long-term riyal deposits, 3 percent of local currency deposits, 4 percent of foreign currency deposit demands and 3.5 percent of savings and long-term foreign currency deposits. It also required a capital cover of 6 percent of assets. Last October, the Qatari monetary authority introduced discount facilities to commercial banking with a view to enhancing its role as the ultimate lender and consolidating the banks' stability.

With regard to banking activity, two-thirds of the banks in Qatar ran a deficit last year due to the sharp drop in oil revenues and oil exports. Unlike the other GCC countries, Qatar does not allow banks to deduct any reserves from taxable income to cover bad debts.

Notwithstanding the downturn in oil production in Qatar, state revenues from energy exports are expected to recuperate due to the huge reserves in the North Field. Moreover, Qatar has foreign assets valued at about \$120 million and an annual investment income of \$700 million. These facts, in addition to its small market and low absorption capacity qualify it to counter slumping oil revenues and lower foreign asset gains.

#### The Sultanate of Oman

Last year's decline in Oman's oil resources compelled the authorities to look for alternate sources to make up for this decline in resources that comprise 90 percent of total export revenues. In 1986, the sultanate's budget witnessed spending levels drop to R 1.879 million from R 1.918 million in 1985. However, spending on development in the same year remained higher than the one prescribed in the 1985 budget, amounting to R 572 million.

Despite the fact that Oman coordinates its oil policy with the other Gulf countries within the GCC framework, its non-affiliation with OPEC has allowed it to raise its oil production in 1986 to over 500,000 barrels a day, thus making up for part of the slump in world oil prices. Moreover, the sultanate has adopted a series of strict measures, the most significant of which are:

- A 10.2 percent devaluation of the Omani riyal against the dollar.
- A 10 percent reduction in capital and ordinary outlays.

-- Heavier borrowing and withdrawal from the reserve.

These measures turned the expected 1986 deficit of R 33 million into a R 9.3 million surplus and this improvement in turn was reflected in higher spending appropriations in the 1987 budget.

From the banking point of view, and contrary to the situation in other Gulf countries, Omani banks, all 22 of them, have been able to steer clear of the problems and troubles of the period due to the conservative policy the central bank is following. This does not mean, however, that the banking business has not been affected by the general economic situation in the region. Public spending has been cut, the liquidity has tightened and 1986 deposits have declined from the 1985 level. This notwithstanding, the asset base of Omani banks remained sound. In its effort to bolster confidence in the banking sector, the central bank doubled its capital to R 100 million in May 1986 and called upon the commercial banks to increase their capital as well. It is a known fact, however, that banks operating in Oman enjoy ample foreign currency deposits that qualify them to counter any serious drop in their liquidity, and the depressed job market in the country had encouraged Omani banks to expand their business abroad, thus giving them hidden reserves and contributing to the stability of the country's banking sector.

12502

CSO: 4404/393

REGIONAL

NEAR EAST

ARAB LEAGUE'S KLIBI RETURNS FROM GULF WAR MISSION

LD220850 Tunis Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 21 Jun 87

[Excerpts] Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi returned to Tunis this afternoon after leading a delegation of the seven-man Arab Committee, entrusted with the task of following the Iraq-Iran war developments, to New York, Buenos Aires, and Caracas.

Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz stopped over in Tunis this afternoon on his way back to Baghdad after taking part in the talks held by the delegation of the seven-man Arab committee on the Iraq-Iran war in New York, Buenos Aires, and Caracas in the course of the efforts made to put an end to the Iraq-Iran war.

/8309

CSO: 4500/113



REGIONAL

NEAR EAST

BRIEFS

MOROCCAN-LIBYAN RELATIONS--Moroccan-Libyan relations remain good and contacts are continuing between King Hasan II and Col al-Qadhdhafi. The most recent indication of these relations was the attendance of Col al-Qadhdhafi's daughter at the wedding celebrations of King Hasan II's daughter. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 13 Jun 87 p 9] /9604

CSO: 4504/269

LESSONS LEARNED FROM PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION UNDERLINED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 21 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-'Azim Ramadan: "Opposition and Election's Eloquent Lessons"]

[Text] If we overlook the charges of intervention in and the rigging of the election made by the opposition parties against the government--charges which are being handled by the investigation authorities--the following facts concerning the opposition parties' positions emerge from the elections:

First, the disappearance of two opposition parties, namely the Labor Party and the Liberal Party, and the unprecedented rise of the Muslim Brotherhood during the July Revolution era. This is perhaps one of the most significant results of the latest elections. Before the elections were held, Egypt's political map was moving in the direction of polarization of Egypt's voters between two major parties, namely the National Party and al-Wafd Party or the July Revolution party and the 1919 Revolution party. Meanwhile, voters were ceaselessly turning away from the Labor Party and the Liberal Party because the masses realized that their policy was futile and that they were challenging Egyptian public opinion with their unpatriotic position on the Iraq-Iran war--a position of support for Iran against Iraq on the pretext of the Islamic bond. The two parties' position was also embodied in their relations and contacts the Arab and international circles, who block the Arab countries' return to Egypt, who plot against Egypt secretly and openly, and who--these words are addressed to al-Qadhdhafi in particular--pin down an important part of the Egyptian army on the borders to confront al-Qadhdhafi's threats, with the burden this conduct has on the Egyptian budget. Moreover, it became evident to the masses that the two parties' newspapers encouraged the Islamic groups' radical thinking and glorified the perpetrators of acts of political violence. It also became evident to the masses that the Liberal Party had fallen to the control of Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, with this party's subsequent abandonment of all the principles on which it was founded. This is in addition to the political actions exposed by the masses, as happened when Sulayman Khatir's case was exploited. This is why the two parties' popularity dropped to the lowest level prior to the elections. The masses became aware of the two parties' vacillation and of their turning back to their own principles. This caused the political map to move, as I have already noted, in the direction of polarizing voters between the ruling National Party and al-Wafd Party.

Therefore, the alliance, which included the Muslim Brotherhood, rescued the two parties in the elections. But it was evident that the Muslim Brotherhood was leading the battle and that the votes cast for the alliance were meant for the Muslim Brotherhood in particular. What is more, the Muslim Brotherhood was the party which conducted the propaganda campaign activities and shouldered its costs--a campaign which perhaps surprised the government as much as it surprised the masses.

Consequently, it can be said without exceeding the truth or the Egyptian political reality that the new People's Assembly consists of representatives of the National Party, al-Wafd Party, and the Muslim Brotherhood only and that the Labor Party deputies could not have gained their current seats without the Muslim Brotherhood and without the campaigns waged by the Brotherhood, thanks to its precise organization.

This is the difference between the Brotherhood's alliance with the Labor and Liberal Parties in 1987 and its alliance with al-Wafd Party in the 1984 elections. As I have already noted, the Brotherhood performed in the latest elections the role of the crane lifting up the Labor and Liberal Parties. Without this crane, the two parties would have fallen. In 1984, al-Wafd was the party which performed the role of the crane lifting the Muslim Brotherhood. Without al-Wafd, the Muslim Brotherhood would have stayed outside the People's Assembly.

The fact that al-Wafd has gained 36 of the People's Assembly seats, all for itself and without alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood and despite the falsification and the war launched against it by its political opponents--this fact helps perhaps show the party's political size in the political arena, especially in light of the allegations made by some people in the wake of the 1984 elections that if it had not been for the alliance between al-Wafd and the Brotherhood, al-Wafd would not have succeeded.

The difference between the alliance of the 1984 elections and the alliance of the 1987 election is perhaps that the first alliance did not stipulate that al-Wafd abandon its principles to the Brotherhood. Al-Wafd was always prepared to oust any Brotherhood member who tried to impose his political opinions on al-Wafd, as happened in the case of Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, because al-Wafd's popular assets and its liberal principles did not permit it to succumb to an ideology trying to exploit religion in political action or to tamper with the idea that religion is for God and the country is for all. In the second alliance, the concession made by the Labor and Liberal Parties was obvious even before the elections were held. The alliance was thus tantamount to a foregone conclusion insofar as thought and principle are concerned because it is an alliance founded on the so-called application of the Islamic Shari'a. This is the slogan which this alliance bandied about in the elections to attract the masses' votes.

This is what caused the election battle to be between two sides: a side raising the slogan of Islam for church and state and a side raising the slogan that religion is for God and the country is for all. This is what divides the current People's Assembly and it is the first of the election battle's eloquent lessons.

Al-Wafd must stand in this assembly with its history and its struggle for the sacred national unity to prevent Egypt being turned into another Khomeynist state, which is what the alliance forces are ceaselessly working for.

At the same time, the election battle has added to al-Wafd's struggle experience an understanding of the nature of the Egyptian political system which controls a large part of the production means. This nature motivates the regime to influence the elections in its favor with all the means and methods at its disposal but in a manner which can be fought, as the Brotherhood has done! This is what was impossible in 'Abd-al-Nasir's era. Mobilizing and organizing al-Wafd's masses in a careful partisan manner was one of the main features of al-Wafd Party before the revolution. It is true that the new Wafd is no more than several years old but the next years before another election is held must see a fundamental change in al-Wafd Party's organization to make sure that the party is more effective in any coming elections.

As for the Grouping Party, the fact that its share of the vote was halved, dropping from 4.176 to 2.21 percent, must--even if we take the charges of rigging into consideration--motivate the party to reexamine its domestic policy. It is evident that this party instigated a large part of the nationalist left into open battles which harmed the party's image in the eye of public opinion and showed the party as rash and disrespectful to others' opinions. The party's ability to divide, rather than unite, the leftist groups was also demonstrated. Consequently, this party no longer represents the canopy capable of embracing the nationalist left with its long history. Moreover, the grouping's defiance of public opinion which supports peace and the grouping's rejection of the initiative, despite the left's history of supporting peace, inevitably had to have an unprecedented impact on the party's popularity, especially the Marxist left's popularity.

Therefore, because the grouping is certainly a progressive force, as well as a secular force which believes that religion is for God and the country is for all, and because it stands against the onset of the new Khomeynism which poses the biggest threat to the country, this party must learn from the lesson of the election experience to reassess its policy so that it may re-attract the nationalist leftist ranks and may attract the workers. One of the biggest surprises produced by these elections is that the majority of al-Wafd deputies in the new assembly are workers, keeping in mind that al-Wafd is the party accused by its political opponents of being the pashas' party and that the leftist grouping does not have in the parliament a single deputy from among the workers.

8494/12951

CSO: 4504/220

## MINISTER 'UBAYD DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT, IMPROVED SERVICES

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 7 Apr 87 p 22

[Interview with Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd, minister of state for administrative development, by Muhammad Mustafa in Cairo: "In interview with AL-SIYASAH, Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd, Minister of State for Administrative Development: Kuwait Has Unique and Balanced Arab Leadership Which Is Aware of Present and Future Issues and Which Has Deep Faith in Its Nation; Public Sector's Losses Are One Form of Subsidy Provided by State to Poor; Prosperity Is Coming; Agreement with IMF Will Be Reached and Will Be Model of Respect for Developing Countries' Will"; date not given]

[Text] Cairo--Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd, the minister of cabinet affairs, is a man well known in the Egyptian scene. But what he does as a minister, his powers and the nature of his work are something of which many people are unaware perhaps because, as he puts it, he is a minister without portfolio, perhaps because his position is one that has been recently created, and perhaps because the nature of his work is totally remote from the immediate interests of the ordinary Egyptian. But all these considerations do not prevent the interview with Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd from having more than special importance.

It is at the core of his work to coordinate among the various ministries in order to insure good performance. This is an extremely serious role, especially under Egypt's current conditions. He is the man responsible for administrative development and for enhancing management in Egypt. Management is a problem and an ailment that requires a skilful doctor capable of sound diagnosis and effective treatment. Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd is an expert in the science of management and a brilliant professor in this field. Moreover, the man is, by virtue of the nature of his work, in direct contact with all the issues and problems existing in each of Egypt's ministries. Consequently, he is capable of talking about, interpreting, and explaining all points connected with economic, planning, administrative, and social issues and with investment and other issues effectively influencing Egypt's future.

To put it briefly, an interview with Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd means an interview with the entire cabinet. On this basis, we have been eager to hear his viewpoint on all issues concerning the ordinary man even though the ordinary man may not know much about this minister.



[Question] What are your impressions of your recent visit to Kuwait and what is your assessment of Egyptian-Kuwait relations?

[Answer] I found in Kuwait a unique and balanced Arab leadership that is aware of present and future issues and that has deep faith in the Arab nation's present and future and a deep conviction of the need to strengthen the Arab cooperation and of the importance of the Egyptian presence to secure the Arab nation's future. This was not new to what I had expected before my visit to Kuwait, whose leadership has far-ranging sense of awareness. As for Egyptian-Kuwaiti relations, they are developing and rapidly growing stronger in various economic and cultural fields through the delegations exchanged by the two countries and through the visits made by the two countries' prominent figures, the latest of which was the visit the Egyptian minister of education made to Kuwait recently. There have also been numerous other mutual visits. I must not forget to note here President Husni Mubarak's participation in the Islamic summit held in Kuwait and the warm feelings with which the president was received by the Kuwaiti leadership, people, and media. Those feelings reflected the deep ties binding the two sisterly countries.

#### Minister's Powers and Tasks

[Question] The position of minister for cabinet affairs is a position about which the ordinary man does not know much. Can you explain to us the role you perform?

[Answer] I agree with you that this position is perhaps unclear to the ordinary man. But it is completely clear to the people engaged in this field. This position was created only 7 years ago and its jurisdiction is as follows:

First, he prepares the issues presented to the prime minister, to the cabinet, and to the ministerial committees. The preparation might be routine, i.e., preparation of some issues received from the ministries, or it might be creative preparation. The preparation depends on the leadership in charge of this ministry. This leadership may ponder, explore make predictions, and prepare for issues representing fundamental issues connected with progress, development, and modernization. Another leadership may decide that its task is focused on preparation of a paper on what will be presented.

Second, he has the task of coordination among the ministries, considering that various issues are channelled from numerous ministries to a specific ministry to prepare them for presentation to a ministerial committee in which matters are decided through a bilateral meeting between the minister in charge of the ministry presenting an issue on the one hand and the other ministers on the other. This is one of the tasks I perform. When I feel that it is possible to settle a certain matter through a meeting between the minister concerned and me, I do so. Issues are not presented to the committees or to the cabinet unless they are impossible to settle at the bilateral level or at the level of a ministerial group or they are stipulated in the laws. This action creates a spirit of cooperation among the ministers on the issues that could be controversial.

Third, he conduct a scientific preparation of the issues which must be presented to the ministerial committees, to the prime minister, and to the cabinet. The value of the discussions that take place in the committees or in the cabinet depends on advance preparation. If the preparation is good, then the presentation and the discussion will be good and the outcome of the discussion will be valuable. The country reaps greater benefits if the issues are prepared well. This is why one of my main concerns has been to set up for the cabinet an information center called the Programmed Data System. I have gathered a select group of young Egyptian cadres who have acquired a proper degree of education in data and computer sciences. I have also set up 24 databases in the various sectors--the industry, agriculture, agrarian reform, irrigation, electricity, transport, and other sectors. Some of these databanks were already in existence and we are developing them. We are contributing to setting up the other banks. We are also unifying the equipment so that we may create the chance to reduce the cost of purchasing this equipment and of maintaining it. We also contribute to training the teams which will operate the databanks in each sector. In the cabinet, a central unit has been set up and this unit is in contact with all these banks so that it may select from them whatever data may be needed to prepare an issue that is to be presented to the ministerial committees, to the cabinet, or to the prime minister.

Fourth, he updates the preparation for the cabinet's decision-making by supplying all the studies already conducted on each issue, as well as a summary of the discussions of the committees that have already examined an issue.

Fifth, he carries out the task of following up on national issues. In the cabinet, the real challenge facing any government is the challenge of confronting the economic problem imposed on us as a result of the circumstances undergone by the Egyptian economy in 1986 and 1987 and then keeping up the contacts with the international institutions and with Egypt's friends in the Arab area and in the world with the objective of overcoming this problem and leading the Egyptian economy to the shore of safety. This is one of the fundamental tasks for which I prepare.

Sixth, the government's performance in Egypt has been governed by hundreds of pieces of legislation and ministerial decrees as a result of the rapid change that has occurred in Egypt since the 1950's. This multiplicity has created numerous problems. This is why we are gathering and classifying the laws in order to purge, simplify, and unify them and then to agree on legislation that remains valid for a period of time without amendment. The purpose of this effort is to achieve stability and simplicity for those dealing with the laws and for the citizens.

Seventh, he receives, absorbs, and responds to shocks and resolves not to allow such shocks to turn into crises and to deal with them patiently. We received daily reports on the domestic and foreign situation. A calm and objective assessment of general events must be made and the right approach to deal with every situation must be selected after careful examination and without emotion.



## Ministerial Harmony and Divergence of Opinions

[Question] It has been rumored that one of the reasons for the previous cabinet's resignation was the lack of ministerial harmony. Do you think that the harmony lacking in the previous cabinet has been achieved in the current cabinet?

[Answer] It is well known that because the ordinary Egyptian and Arab has a lot of free time on his hands, he is inclined and is happy to listen to rumors. Consequently, any rumor about the difference between the viewpoints of two ministers is interpreted as a disagreement within the cabinet. Difference of viewpoints is the rule within the family. When a family grows in number, it is not expected that all its members will think the same way. It is natural for differences of opinion to surface but it is not essential that differences turn into disagreements. A difference of opinion may be interpreted by the ordinary man as lack of harmony because the ordinary man has not realized that difference in opinion is in the nature of men, especially when the ministerial team is large. Dr 'Atif 'Ubayd, the minister of cabinet affairs and administrative development, added: A democratic administration must accept the presence of different opinions because facts shine through the contact of opinions. Moreover, harmony is dictated by two factors: First, the nature of the issues raised and, second, the leader's personality. I personally have had experience with three cabinets and I can assert that harmony exists. This harmony is imposed by the head of the state who gives his instructions. All move within the framework of these instructions. Harmony is also imposed by the nature of the issues and problems which face the country and over which there can be no disagreement. It is likely that there will be differences of opinions. But with further debate, such differences must ultimately end up in a unified opinion. The proof of this is the discussions held on the agreement with the IMF. The ministerial group discussed this agreement in 18 sessions. Of course, there were differences of opinion seeking to serve the supreme interest. Can we call such differences a lack of ministerial harmony or disagreement?

## Minister Without Portfolio

[Question] A question is raised on the meaning of administrative development and on the significance of the presence of an administrative development ministry?

[Answer] To begin, I wish to stress that there is no ministry of administrative development but there is a minister of state for administrative development. This means that there is a minister who ponders the administrative development issues and who has under him a technical bureau and a team of advisers and technicians to develop new ideas that can be applied by the minister. Thus, there is a minister of state without portfolio.

## Characterization of Egypt's Administrative Problem

[Question] There are those who believe that Egypt's crisis is a crisis of management, not a resources. How do you view this?

[Answer] Let us agree that it is a problem, not a crisis. Let us also agree that any developing and advancing society signifies a dynamic society which inevitably encounters numerous problems. We definitely suffer from the problem of a shortage of resources. We have a population that is growing steadily. With this growth, numerous demands arise and these demands must be met. If they are not met, problems surface. Consequently, we face a problem embodied in the inevitability of responding to the population's increasing demands and endless aspirations. The resources definitely fall short of aspirations.

We also have a management problem. To be able to diagnose this problem's dimensions, we must make a distinction between the government sector and the business sector. I will begin with the management problem in the government sector. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the Egyptian citizen has been complaining of his dealings with the government sector. The services offered the citizen have increased in number but their standard is lower than that of services offered the citizens in other countries. Here, we must determine why the service's performance standard is lower than that in other big countries. This low standard is embodied in the following:

1. Unsuitability of the location which the citizen has to frequent to obtain the service.
2. The improper reception given the citizen by the civil servant providing the service.
3. The long time it takes to provide the service.
4. The citizen being compelled to repeat the visit in order to get the service.

Therefore, four important elements must be secured in order that the service may rise to a proper, acceptable, and advanced level: The citizen frequents a service office and finds it suitable and friendly, and he is received well and given the service in a short time and is not asked to repeat the visit in order that he may be provided with the service. If we cast a glance on the situation around us, we find that services in Egypt are offered in 158 sectors and that they are scattered in geographic locations throughout the republic.

To improve these sites and make them suitable for receiving the citizens, it is necessary to allocate investments of no less than 1 billion pounds. All must know that no allocations have been made since 1950 to improve and modernize the buildings or to modernize the administrative system. Therefore, the slogan to introduce a revolution into government buildings or to the government administrative system becomes a hollow slogan because such a revolution requires an investment that neither exists nor is available. If we leave the buildings aside and look at the other resources, we find that the service-providing facilities have not undergone any development since the 1950's. To modernize these facilities in order that they may contribute to improving the service, we need investments which are not available. We come here to another important point, namely that the salary of the civil servant dealing with the public is very small. The average government salary is one fourth that in the

private sector. Somebody may ask: Why don't you increase salaries? The salaries paid by the government amount to 4 billion pounds annually and represent one-third of the state's revenues. Therefore, the salaries cannot be increased. Others may say: Then reduce employment in the government sector. Here arises the question: And what do we do with this excess labor? Therefore, there have to be alternatives to the ideas of increased wages and salaries. There is also the problem that the civil servant operates under the canopy of laws, rules, and regulations that have not been amended since the 1950's. This civil servant is governed by laws, ministerial decrees, and regulations to which he has become accustomed.

Finally, we must not forget that the service standard also depends on the role of the party demanding the service who can contribute to enhancing the service standard by insisting on obtaining his rights and by following up on the service standard through his actions either as an individual or as a member of a social organization. This happens in other countries where the citizens or their social organizations keep an eye on the standard of services in public hospitals, schools, and other establishments. The citizen must get his right and must persist in demanding it. Therefore, to develop government services, we must deal with the five dimensions--buildings, facilities, labor, laws, rules and regulations, and the citizen. I am responsible for thinking only. With this responsibility alone, I cannot introduce a fundamental change in all the services. Regrettably, it was said in the past that it is possible to achieve an administrative revolution and a comprehensive revolutionary change in the government apparatus and to shake up the government administration. In the end, none of these slogans has been crystallized so far for a very simple reason, namely that those who launched the slogans did so without injecting any content into their slogans. To be true and realistic, we must seek to make the dimensions of development in the government administration compatible with the resources available to the government apparatus. On this basis, I have demanded an annual allocation of nearly 30 million pounds in the state's general budget. It is within these limits that I can be held accountable. We have begun to make changes in several sites and to turn them into model service centers. We are observing this experiment to determine its successes and failures in order to make use of the experiment and to prepare to disseminate it. In the real-estate register, in the post office, in the telephone authority, in the records offices, and in the investment offices, the Egyptian citizen now receives services of no lesser quality than the services offered in the world's most advanced countries. We will continue to develop the services and will give priority to the services which deal with investors and with the production bases.

#### State Is Not Solely Responsible for Economic Stagnation

[Question] It is said that the private sector is experiencing economic stagnation. Do you have an interpretation for this phenomenon?

[Answer] The Egyptian business sector's experience is young. This sector enjoyed prosperity from the time the open-door economic policy was launched until 1986. Then a slight recession developed and as soon as this recession developed, some businessmen considered it to be a serious phenomenon.

The stagnation about which some people talk is not new to the world's business sector, which has become accustomed and has acclimatized itself to periods of recession and prosperity. This something which the Egyptian private sector has not realized. With greater patience and determination, recession periods are turned into future periods of prosperity. Even though the state cannot take political action to remedy stagnation, this does not mean that the state is responsible for stagnation. Such stagnation is inevitable at times. But the state must help to deal with it. We have been making ceaseless efforts and are holding a constant dialogue with the world. The president of the republic spends a significant part of his time in establishing strong bridges with the world to support Egypt. The government does the same and moves directly to find immediate solutions. We must not lose our self-confidence. This has, regrettably, happened with a number of businessmen, some of whom have lost their confidence in their ability to face the problems. I believe that there is mutual trust between the government and the businessmen and this trust will contribute to overcoming the stagnation quickly.

Let us now turn to the issue of management in the Egyptian business sector. Modern management in the world has its components, the first of which is what we call modern management systems. If such modern management is present, then the systems will exist. But if the management is falling apart, then no such system will exist. Second, modern management relies on the use of some tools that make better projections possible, thus reducing the reliance on off-hand opinion. Third, the presence of leaders capable of innovation and of motivating their subordinates toward serious work. A management with this concept and with the cadres capable of implementing the concept is rare. I will say frankly that Egypt has not had the opportunity to develop such a management system since World War II. The prosperity which followed World War II was artificial and did not give the business sector the opportunity to establish itself, to make use of the world's experiences, to develop the work systems, to keep up with the labor-saving appliances developed by the world, and to create a cadre of experienced businessmen. Briefly, Egypt has not had the opportunity to create the right conditions for the business sector. For example, there were in 1956 a total of 33 firms, 17 of which were branches of international firms. The rest consisted of workshops and small businesses. An organized business sector is what creates a modern management system with all its components. When the branches of foreign firms were nationalized in 1956, the leadership cadres of those firms left the country out of fear of that first nationalization. In 1962, full nationalization was carried out and the leaderships which were supposed to teach a second generation emigrated to the Arab area and other parts of the world. Thus, the schools in which systems could have been developed and cadres created were nearly shut down. This continued to be the situation until 1977-78. Therefore, the scarcity of these cadres and the absence of these systems represent one of the challenges facing the development of management in Egypt. So what should we do? Should we wait until giant projects managed in a modern way come into existence to create the cadres and develop the systems? We cannot wait because the wait may last for dozens of years. Thus, we have to seek a quicker solution.

We have given thought to a means to gain the elements which are capable of assuming leadership in the future and of absorbing the arts of modern management.



[Answer] It is undoubtedly a mixed economy. Part of the economic base is owned by the state in the form of the public-sector companies and the public authorities. Another part is a private part that is becoming more active and that is growing in size, role, investment, number, production, and employment. We welcome the private sector to play the major role in current and future development. But we will not relinquish the state-owned part of the economy which will continue to be state-owned for purely economic and social considerations, not for political or ideological considerations.

#### Public Sector's Losses

[Question] Why the public sector's losses and how long will they continue?

[Answer] Losses are attributed to the public sector. But if the prices of products sold by the public sector were calculated on the basis of the market prices and if the costs of the requirements used by the sector were calculated on the basis of the market prices, the picture would be completely different. In 1986, the public sector as a whole realized a profit ranging from 6.8-12.5 percent on its investment. The reason for the low yield or loss in some companies is the indirect subsidy. This is one of the most important reasons why the state keeps this sector. The sector achieves price stability and, in turn, this stability achieves unity of the social fabric. Nearly 50 percent of our families get a limited income. Therefore, the losses are a form of subsidy, meaning that they are "planned" losses. What the public sector truly needs, what I am giving serious thought to, and what will be studied completely within 2 months is: How can the public sector's management achieve complete independence? An economic unit managed by the public sector and selling its products at low prices must get the difference between the economic price and the low price in the form of a subsidy. It can be then compared with other units and competition can take place to achieve efficiency. But when we give this sector complete independence and freedom, we will reserve our right to review all prices so that there may be no excesses because market prices reflect scarcity. As for the issue of independence, there are companies in eastern and western countries that have begun to tackle the issue of independence through contacts between public-sector companies and managements, meaning that we let the manager run a unit as if he owns it while concluding a contract with him on certain tasks. In this case, the contract will be the law of the contracting parties. Ownership will remain in state hands while management acts as if it were a private management. This system has been applied in even the most radical socialist countries, as well as in other countries, such as France, Italy, and others.

#### Administrative Ailments

[Question] There are a number of administrative ailments that have afflicted numerous agencies. With these ailments, including graft, favoritism, and bureaucracy, corrupt management has turned into a management of corruption. In your view, how can these ailments be cured?

We have begun to set up the so-called leadership training centers. But building these centers and preparing them to operate effectively takes time. I began a year after I took over my responsibility. To date, I have not been able to complete setting up the first center because it needs buildings, equipment, instructors, training materials, a curriculum for trainees, and modern management. We hope that the first of these centers will be opened this October. This center will have a maximum absorption capacity, namely 50 trainees divided into 2 classes, each with 25 trainees. The training given will cover the entire economic sector, including public, joint, and private economic activity. The trainees will be given board for 1 year in these training centers, which we will equip with the most advanced libraries, training materials, and equipment available in the world. We have sent abroad missions of instructors with experience in the business sector to gain further training so that the centers may be made complete. These centers will be the most advanced leadership training centers in the Middle East and we will provide them with full support and with all the components of success.

#### Conflicting Laws and Decrees

[Question] One of the biggest problems facing the private sector and investors is perhaps the problem of conflicting laws and decrees, especially the custom and import laws and decrees. When will this problem be solved?

[Answer] The Egyptian businessman is smart because he knows that the more he complains, the more he gets. But I stress that if the Egyptian businessman undergoes the experience abroad, he will thank us for what is available at home. The taxes the Egyptian businessman pays cannot be compared with what his counterpart abroad pays. There are hundreds of projects yielding very high profits. We are happy with this because profitable projects are the biggest force attracting further investments. As for the customs law, it was not amended for 7 years. Then we had the latest amendment and we agreed that we will not consider amending it for 5 years to come. There is no amendment in the taxes. As for the investment law and its executive regulations, it has been amended for the better so that an investor may get approval for his project within 1 week. In a short while, the customs and price categories used as a basis to calculate the customs fees on imported commodities will be published. These fees will be maintained for a year so that the importer may know in advance what he has to pay the customs authority. Regarding the import laws, we have noted that we will ban the importation of a certain number of commodities. Everything else will be permitted, depending on the availability of foreign currency. This is firm and we will not back down on it. The regulations are also completely firm and stable. As for the confusion occurring in the past 2 years, it came as a result of a symposium held on foreign currency. This symposium had to create concern among some businessmen. I wish to stress that this situation will be dealt with soon.

#### Egyptian Economy's Identity

[Question] What, in your opinion, is the Egyptian economy's identity?

[Answer] Let us first agree that these flaws have not yet become what may be called corruption. In this case, generalization is harmful and unobjective. If a person pays graft money to obtain a service or some concession, is it reasonable for us to generalize and say that society is dominated by graft? Add to this another fact, namely that when this happens, the responsibility is shared by the graft-money giver and the graft-money taker. We cannot say that this is what happens in all cases where a service is rendered. Such incidents are confined to individual cases and do not constitute a phenomenon. I always urge that the citizens apply pressure in demanding a service or an improvement of service. I also urge the citizens to always insist on receiving satisfactory performance because this is a comprehensive process in which the civil servant, the laws, and the rules and regulations participate. Moreover, the citizen must be vigilant and insist on receiving the service. This is what we are trying to achieve. As I have already noted, the Egyptian labor market has not had the full opportunity to create cadres with the qualifications required to develop management. This is why there are some sites where the performance lags behind and the service standards is low.

I can assert that the number of cases of graft and of money paid in return for a service are very small and does not exceed on the average the number of cases found in the most advanced countries. It is not fair, objective, or thoughtful to rely on a small number to make generalizations.

#### Arab Cooperation

[Question] Is there cooperation between Egypt and the Arab countries in the field of administrative development?

[Answer] The first contact in this connection took place nearly 2 weeks ago when some Arab brothers contacted us to seek guidance from our experience in two areas. The first was the area of setting up national data networks. On the president's instructions, we are increasingly committed to supplying whatever is asked of Egypt in the field of expertise, experience, studies, or reports. the other area is that of administrative development through setting up leadership training centers and gradually training a small number of these actually employed, as I have already pointed out. To train a few at a time, drawing (as previously explained) from those who are actually employed.

#### Accomplishments and Accomplishments

[Question] Concluding this interview, if we wanted to sum up the minister of administrative development's accomplishments, what would you say?

[Answer] In the administrative development area, we can make our conclusions on the accomplishments through a single visit to any of the sites where the services have been developed. What has been accomplished in these sites makes the citizen confident of the possibility of the development of government services, which is something that has not happened in 40 years. Moreover, a visit to the data center in al-Zamalik, which is still under construction, will show that this center is one of the accomplishments of which we are



proud. Moreover, we prepare the issues submitted to the cabinet and the studies supporting them. The final blueprints have been completed and contracts have been concluded to set up the leadership training centers, the first of which will be inaugurated soon.

#### A Word to Egyptians Abroad

We are proud of you. Your continued presence in the societies in which you work is an honor to every Egyptian. I urge you to be loyal to the countries in which you work, to offer your most generous efforts and to safeguard your country's reputation with the conduct that distinguishes the Egyptian expatriate who has gained this good reputation for Egyptian labor. We also tell you that you are not remote from our interests. Important decrees will be issued shortly. For a long time, Egyptian officials have been studying these decrees which will strike a balance between the country's interests and the interests of its citizens working abroad.

8494/12951

CSO: 4504/220

## INCREASED PRESSURE ON WEST BANK PREDICTED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 24 Apr 87 p 36

[Article by Mazin Mustafa: "Israel Prepares to Face the Results of the Palestine National Council; When the Iron Fist Failed the Pressure Techniques Changed"]

[Text] With the Israelis' arrest of Faysal al-Husayni, president of the Arab Studies Center in Jerusalem, a nationalist Palestinian figure who emerged in the last 3 years, one could speculate that the Israeli "iron fist" has entered a phase of new goals and old methods.

The iron fist is the military expression of the ruling coalition between the Likud and Labor parties. Its purpose is to preserve the balance between the two at the expense of the national legitimate rights of the Palestinians both inside and outside the occupied territories, since the position on the future of these territories is the basis of the political agreement between Shimon Perez and Yitzhaq Shamir.

It is early to label it as the "International Conference" phase but it can be said that Israel, through the iron fist, is now taking precautions against the conference and its impact on the West Bank and Gaza. This conclusion is based on the following factors:

1. Failure of the "alternative representation" which by the Israeli Labor Party had tried to cultivate in its contacts with West Bank and Gaza personalities to discuss the possibility of choosing "moderate" Palestinians to represent them in the international conference.

It should be pointed out that Aba Eban, president of the foreign and security committee and deputy Ora Namir 3 weeks ago asked a number of Palestinians through Hanna Sinyurah, publisher of the Jerusalem newspaper AL-FAJR, to endorse a joint agreement between the Labor Party and the Palestinians calling for peace between them. But these personalities refused to sign the document because of its unclear position on "the legitimacy of Palestinian representation embodied in the PLO." At the time only four persons agreed to sign: Hanna Sinyurah, head of the Bethlehem municipality Ilyas Frayu, and two merchants from Nablus.

Likewise Shimon Peres himself failed to acquire a commitment from two Palestinian groups with whom he met during the same period. A group representing the Jordanian movement, as described by the Hebrew press, rejected any representational role, leaving the issue to improved relations between Jordan and the PLO. The second group, which included Hanna Sinyurah and the lawyer Fayiz Abu Rahma from Gaza (the PLO had previously nominated them as two representatives in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation), and Sirri Nasibah from Jerusalem, ended up asking the Labor Party to recognize the PLO.

It is clear that the growing Israeli repression and the carrying out of the iron fist policy last week is Peres' reaction to that failure. Israel decided that a Palestinian delegation would either be chosen by Israel or not at all.

2. Satisfying the Israeli side. Labor Party contacts with the Palestinians on the basis of a preliminary agreement to an international conference shook the alliance by angering the Likud, Gush Emunim, and the racist Kakh movement. To remedy this situation the iron fist had to be used in the occupied territories. It was no coincidence that Faysal al-Husayni was chosen as a scapegoat and was placed among others under administrative arrest without a trial.

Four months ago, when al-Husayni met with Soviet dissident Shiranski to try to convince him to get involved as a humanitarian to prevent the deportation of the combatant-writer Akram Haniyah, president of the people's liberation, he became a symbol of this stage of the resistance to the Israeli extremists.

This was followed by a media campaign on the part of extremists, especially the Kakh movement led by the racist rabbi Meir Kahane, which called for the deportation of Faysal al-Husayni, because he was a PLO supporter, as proven by his interview with the Jerusalem Post. It is well known that in that interview al-Husayni endorsed mutual recognition between the Israelis and the Palestinians, and cited examples of a new genre of West Bank leaders who do not see a problem with establishing a Palestinian state through a calm and nonviolent diplomatic dialogue.

Since Faysal al-Husayni was the most prominent personality to refuse to sign the previously-mentioned Labor Party document which the domestic nationalist movement refers to as the "Sinyurah Initiative," Shimon Peres and his defense minister Yitzhaq Rabin, who is personally responsible for the administration of the occupied territories, found in the arrest of a symbolic figure like Faysal a chance for them to restore the balance within the ruling coalition and to satisfy the extremists.

3. The consecration of the "political vacuum" theory. One of the conventional methods used by the Israeli military administration against the Palestinians, was to prevent the crystallization of a local leadership with clearly defined political goals. One who follows the history of the occupation has no trouble seeing how the Israelis have deported the national symbols which were the product of the battle against occupation, once every 3 years since 1976.

In 1982 the Likud government dealt a final blow to the local leadership called the National Guidance Committee at the same time that southern Lebanon was invaded and the PLO was expelled from Beirut. One of the most important goals of

the Labor-Likud coalition government was to prevent the emergence of any leadership at any level, to maintain the political vacuum, and to appoint "moderate" personalities in the organizations, particularly the municipalities, who do not have any base of popular support.

4. National unity and the National Council. This point is tied to the previous point. The Israelis have many fears about the achievement of national Palestinian unity. The occupied territories have witnessed the realization of this unity, even before it was achieved in the framework of the PLO during the past months through meetings in Moscow, Prague, and Algeria. The elections that took place in the unions and the student groups in the six universities were the greatest indication of that.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Israeli iron fist was basically directed toward the "national unity program," which represented a conscious national reaction to American-Israeli efforts to besiege the PLO in the West Bank and Gaza, exploiting the weakness and the obstacles that the PLO experienced abroad as a result of the numerous efforts to take away its independent decisionmaking, and the increasing phenomena of dissension.

5. "Prevention is better than treatment." Israeli political circles believe that the PLO's success, as represented by the convening of the National Council and national unity, is a new Palestinian card intended for Arab solidarity. The convening of the national council as such is one of the many indications of that solidarity. If the coming stage is to be referred to as "the International Conference," it must include the legitimate Palestinian representation. It must also have a direct impact on the West Bank and Gaza where it will not be easy to create an Israeli role in the formation of the Palestinian delegation.

Hence, certain Hebrew newspapers have called for an increase in suppression in the occupied territories under the name of "prevention is better than treatment," hinting that the blow against what they call the saboteurs and the extremists would prevent the establishment of a strong political body of Palestinians under occupation that would enjoy the support of the European states and would play a prominent role parallel to the PLO in the next months. These Israeli circles believe that the convening of the international conference is a question of time, and that a heated diplomatic summer awaits Israel.

The various forms of Israeli suppression and its preparations do not mean that the future is guaranteed. For the local realities reinforce the unity of the Palestinians both internally and externally, and confirm that the great role played by the occupied territories will not violate the framework of a comprehensive national Palestinian movement and its legitimate leadership.

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**MUFTI REJECTS PARTITION, HOPES FOR NON-PARTISAN SOLUTION**

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 22 May 87

[Interview with Farid al-Khatib; place not given]

[Text] Shaykh Hasan Khalid stated that he discussed topics pertaining to the regional situation and the domestic Lebanese situation with the French Foreign Minister, Jean-Bernard Raimond, and the British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs [Tim Renton]. He stated that the French minister accepted the suggestions made by the mufti of the Lebanese Republic during the discussions held between them. "During these discussions," [said the mufti], "we were in accord to a large extent, and they were very beneficial and fruitful." In London, the mufti also met with the deputy to the bishop of Canterbury, the chief of the Middle East/North Africa Department at the Foreign Ministry, and the deputy chairman of the Lebanese-British parliamentary bloc. He visited the BBC, and from London flew to Sao Paulo in the framework of a tour that included Latin America, the United States and Athens. It is expected that he will return to Beirut before the end of the current month.

Shaykh Khalid, who attended a number of fast breaking banquets in London where contributions were collected to assist the victims of the Lebanese war, spoke about two aspects of his visit: "Naturally we want to meet with our Lebanese brothers in an attempt to establish contact between the Lebanese who are abroad and those who are in Lebanon to strengthen our relationship, connections, and cooperation; this is a primary and essential goal of our visit.

The second aspect is to take advantage of the opportunity to enter into a dialogue with the British for the benefit of the country, to the extent that such dialogue is possible."

In response to questions by AL-HAWADITH, the mufti of the Lebanese Republic provided this magazine with a depiction of the Lebanese situation in the security, political, economic, social and religious spheres, depicting as well the status of the dialogue between the factions and the course of the political dialogue in Damascus. In the following paragraphs, we present this depiction, taking care not to interrupt the speaker:

The subject of President Karmi's resignation is not one which he faced suddenly. Rather, the entire situation disposed him to take this step--a step which



perhaps occurred to him more than once but which he hesitated to take out of concern for the interests of the state, and desire to protect it from being caught in a whirlpool or an endless crisis. This resignation, however, does not leave in its wake, the results which were feared. Rather, it is, in my belief, a very beneficial step because it will energize political action and compel all political officials to take the matter more seriously than previously; they will thus concern themselves with the subject from a very important angle because the country is no longer capable of tolerating the enemies, burdens, responsibilities and factions it has faced ever since the Lebanese people were afflicted in themselves, their health, morale, economy, commerce, livelihood and even in little things which people fail to see. The state of the country has become one of perdition, anxiety and torment that no human being can tolerate. Remedial measures directed at the land and the people were unequal to the loss suffered by citizens. The mere occurrence of the resignation is an inducement and catalyst of all Lebanese officials to think anew from a new angle, and to seek, with great determination, a solution. Otherwise, it will be the end for all of them!

Hopefully, the politicians who are engaged in a dialogue will reach an agreement on a general solution dealing with many subjects--including a reexamination of the system and the formation of a new government which begins its functions by trying to eliminate the causes of people's suffering, providing some of the services which will give the Lebanese people a new environment better than the preceding one, and producing solutions to some of the problems which afflict the lives of the citizens. That government will then pave the way for a dialogue which will perhaps lead to realization of the desired solutions, and bring about an end to the boycott directed at President Amin al-Jumayyil by means of a visit to the B'abda Palace.

The security situation in Beirut is very different from what it was 2 or more months ago. The situation was explosive. There was no official or regime to be respected. Human beings were as wood, or as paper tossed about in the wind, with no value attached to their freedom, dignity, property or honor. Such matters were left to a group of armed people who diligently pursued material interests, who engaged in illegal methods of profiteering and theft, and who killed people. Matters reached the point where we saw the wealthy threatened with harm to their sons and daughters. Several children were kidnapped and taken hostage until their parents paid sums acceptable to these armed people.

The present situation is, however, vastly different. People can find an official to whom they can direct their complaints. The official may or may not listen to the complaint, or he might listen to it from a particular political vantage.

The story of that person who put up several of his children for sale in order to be able to feed himself and his other children is an unusual story. It is not possible for circumstances, no matter how bad, even when starvation is involved, to bring a rational and balanced person to the point of selling his children. An honorable woman would rather starve than engage in sin. How then can a man do something worse than sinning: to sell his children. This is impossible. I can imagine that this story arose from some sort of struggle.

taking this form for the sake of propaganda, with the purpose of pressuring activists in local, pan-Arab, and international arenas. This story, however, lacks credibility on all levels: religious, humanitarian, and social. It was propagated under difficult circumstances, during gloomy days, and in the coercive atmosphere which pervaded our region.

There are kidnapped persons--men, women and girls who were kidnapped for a ransom or some other purpose. This matter is no less serious than selling one's children: for a person is then compelled to pay half his wealth or property, or sell some of his assets to satisfy the greed of the abductor in order to save his kidnapped child.

We are living in a time of need and scarce resources. Our people at home are miserable, suffering very difficult and trying days with regard to food, clothing, medicine, education and other needs. Therefore, we have established contacts with officials abroad and with the wealthy of the country both at home and abroad. Some of them have responded. Others have responded in a way that does not accord with the needs of the people, and some have not responded at all. We are knocking on various doors and eliciting help from all sides. We received, through God's grace, assistance from King Fahd Ibn 'Abd-al'Aziz, which indicates the generosity he has bestowed, and continues to bestow. We have also received assistance from Qatar, the Common Market and France. The United States has also promised us aid. All of this assistance does not meet, however, the level of need of the people who are suffering in our land.

We do not wish to become beggars. It grieves us that our people have reached the point where some wish to see them as beggars. Our Arab brothers are hastening to assist us, out of brotherhood and love, in order to preserve our honor and esteem. But we consider ourselves too proud to stop at this point, and we hope to end the crisis by examining our everyday social and political reality, and finding a solution which will allow us to emerge intact from the problem.

What sin did we in Lebanon commit to deserve this blow and be afflicted with such great suffering for 12 years? What sin compels us to face tens of thousands of casualties and possibly hundreds of thousands of wounded, in addition to tens of thousands of displaced, miserable people? We did not perpetrate what Israel perpetrated against Lebanon when it invade, destroyed, killed, took people captive, kidnapped, and committed atrocities. Yet pressure was not exerted on Israel as it was on Lebanon, and measures were not taken to deter Israel. Its planes continue to traverse Lebanese air space as they please, and they continue to strike Lebanese regions south of Sidon, as well as the camps. Also, its mechanized units sometimes enter some of the villages to destroy houses and take some captives. What did we do compared to this crime perpetrated by Israel, and the pain which it is inflicting upon us while it does not suffer at all? We did nothing that was done by Israel. If suffering is a punishment for evil deeds, this form should befall the Israeli people and the state of Israel, and not the Lebanese people and the Lebanese state. All international forces, along with the Arab and Islamic

states, must move for the sake of saving the Lebanese people from this difficult stage.

Two or 3 months ago, fighting between the Amal Movement and the Palestinians subsided, and a sort of settlement entered into their relationship. The siege of the Palestinian camps was alleviated and the situation improved somewhat. The fear that we felt and imagined was no longer as intense as it was in the past. We are counting on the brotherhood of those in the southern region--on their feeling of responsibility, their nationalistic perceptions and vision--to make them more cohesive, more cooperative and more harmonious than they ever were in the past, lest they give the enemy a pretext to take advantage of our difficult circumstances.

We have two problems in dealing with the Maronites: achieving cooperation and abolishing political sectarianism. Regarding cooperation, I see the Maronites agreeing to some reforms. At present, this agreement is, however, going back and forth between the parties concerned. If the president of the republic makes up his mind and is backed up in his decision by political officials in the eastern region, I would imagine that cooperation is possible. At present, we are told by the Maronites that they do not insist on the non-abolishment of political sectarianism, provided that abolishment occurs in stages. That is to say, they agree in principle on the abolishment of political sectarianism because they know that it is the cause of the Lebanese people's suffering in various aspects of life. They are of the opinion, however, that abolishing political sectarianism quickly and without preparation might lead to a danger greater than now exists. Therefore, they are of the opinion that it is necessary to first treat the psyche and the personal affairs of people, and thereby prepare those people in stages to sufficiently tolerate the abolishment of sectarianism at a future time.

There are also differences over the concept of reform and the steps to implement it. These differences do not constitute a problem. Nevertheless, I am not one of those who despair and who do not believe that, together, we can reach the necessary solution. As long as all sides have good will and a firm determination to reach a solution which spares Lebanon, maintains its sovereignty over its territory, preserves the unity of its territory and people, protects its constitutional system and its integrity--I believe they will surely reach their goal and find a solution to the two problems of achieving cooperation and the abolishing of political sectarianism. Nothing is impossible; what exist are differences and stubborn inclinations on the part of some people. There are, at the same time, possibilities for a solution.

We maintain continuous contacts and consultations with His Excellency Patriarch Sufayr and his aids, the archbishops. It is therefore possible to reconvene a "spiritual summit" when circumstances permit the country to reap any kind of benefit.

The international game is very dangerous and disturbing. In the beginning of the twentieth century, they tried to partition the Arab world. They divided Syrian into a number of statelets: the Alawite statelet, the Druze statelet, Syria and Beirut. They divided the Gulf into statelets. All of this was for

the benefit of the colonial powers, aiming to facilitate domination, control, and the role which they wished to play.

The plan of which we now hear--that is, the division of Lebanon into eight cantons--is frightening and very dangerous., especially because we hear it from those who zealously worked to achieve their own unity as a people and as nations. The United States comprises 52 states [as published]. Likewise, the Soviet Union includes a number of nationalities differing in terms of race, history, heritage and language. Why, then, do they consider it impossible for our region to be united? Why are they preventing our people from becoming unified? They do not wish us well. Either they are indeed highly civilized, and--as reported by their media and international agencies and institutions--they want the peoples and individuals of the world to obtain their rights, or else they do not practice what they preach. a predicament from which there is no way out.

Why should one think of partitioning Lebanon when its small area totals only 10,000 square kilometers, which is hardly equal in area to one of the parks in the world's large countries? Is there an advantage to partitioning in terms of civilization and humanity? Partitioning does not accord with morals, principles, or international policies, if the latter seek the comfort of the individual within the community of international powers. The partitioning of Lebanon is to be rejected. To ensure its rejection, we continually aspire to cooperate and work with every rational and respected person in Lebanon, as well as with those who zealously wish to guard the welfare of their country. Given our present capability, we are unable to defend our existence. What can we do if we are divided into small blocs, and the country is split apart? Our cooperation, love, and friendliness will be transformed to enmity: our country will have committed suicide. Is this necessary from the standpoint of civilization? It is morally objectionable. We want the Lebanese people to interact freely; we want them all to enjoy equality and justice, cooperating as much as possible to deepen national brotherhood and cooperation, and to preserve the sovereignty of the one Lebanon.

Contemporary man is far more refined than the man of the past, due to the benefits he derives from local and foreign cultures, due to the many agencies and institutions which carry ideas and information into homes, and due to seminars. This helps the citizen to form an intellectual, historical, political, social and cultural view which is clearer and stronger than it previously was. Within the framework of this reality, the contemporary individual is more insightful from a religious standpoint. Many youth have therefore taken refuge in religion, and have applied it to their practical lives. One who enters the mosques at present finds 70 to 80 percent of those in attendance to be youth and not old people. It is a good phenomenon. Regretfully, however, we are helpless sheep without a shepherd to unify us. The yield of this new attainment and this good phenomenon is, therefore, very scant. In order for its yield to be good, we must direct ourselves, as much as we can, toward unity and the achievement of a united front, so that the new progress and development will pour forth for the benefit of the people and the nation.



Dialogue between the Lebanese factions has resumed its course in Damascus. We hope that it will not cease as it did before, that it will not take place in a vacuum, and that the participants will not be a cause of complications. Rather, we hope that the participants will be graced with sufficient magnanimity and farsightedness to facilitate agreement, produce solutions, achieve desirable results, and end this phase as quickly and with as little effort as possible.

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## MUFTI DEFINES DESIRABLE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 26-30 May 87 p 19

[Interview with Shaykh Hasan Khalid by Nura Fakhuri: "We Do Not Support an Islamic Republic in Lebanon"; in London, date not specified]

[Text] The Mufti of Lebanon, Shaykh Hasan Khalid, is considered one of the leading personalities that stood on the side of dialogue and accord with regard to the Lebanese crisis, even in the darkest moments of the Lebanese war. When the mufti talks about the positive aspects of Prime Minister Rashid Karami's resignation and about Amin al-Jumayyil's rule, he outlines the goals this resignation is expected to accomplish, the most important of which is a move toward a dialogue which Mufti Khalid still advocates. In London where the mufti stopped on something of an official visit, AL-MAJALLAH conducted an interview with him about the affairs and woes of the Lebanese scene. Following is the interview:

[Question] The resignation of Prime Minister Rashid Karami was unexpected in terms of timing while it was an almost public demand for different reasons. Where do you stand on this issue?

[Answer] Actually, the resignation was demanded by many people. Even Premier Karami himself was expecting it, but he put it off for fear of it leading to further attrition and very unfavorable results. At any rate, what happened was not strange as far as we are concerned because we shared the belief that the resignation was necessary, not because we hold Prime Minister Karami solely responsible and think he is largely to blame, but because we support the resignation to stimulate the stagnant political reality. It was necessary to have a sudden and unexpected event to shake things up and evoke thought and a search for solutions. The resignation fit the bill.

[Question] From 1975 till today, Lebanon has tried several forms of government, the last of which brought fighters and militia leaders together in the hope of restoring national unity to Lebanon. The result was more destruction and fighting. Can a military government serve as an alternate solution, particularly in view of repeated rumors that the military may take over the reins of power subsequently? Do you support a military government?

[Answer] I support change in order to reach our desired goal. At the same time, I support the removal of the group that was involved in the painful events that have led the country to the current state of destruction. This can only be done through change. As for the form of government, military or non-military, I cannot answer this question at this time because I have not studied all the facts. But I do support change, as I support the installation of a new group with specific aims, the most important being realization of the people's demands, consolidation of government legitimacy and prestige and preparations for successful negotiations and anticipated reforms.

[Question] Is the role of the militia leaders over?

[Answer] They would do good to stay out of government and official responsibilities, but they have the right to hold their own views. We want to regain legitimate and orderly power and to restore the country's sovereignty. This cannot be achieved with the militias.

[Question] Allow me to ask you what legitimacy are you talking about?

[Answer] Lebanese legitimacy. When I say legitimacy, I do not mean that of a human being, but rather of the Lebanese government.

[Question] The one headed by Amin al-Jumayyil?

[Answer] Amin al-Jumayyil heads the republic, but he is not Lebanon. We have systems, laws, a constitution and a parliament. These instruments must resume their roles. We have the internal security forces and the army. The internal security forces can be responsible for security in Lebanon, with the help of Syrian forces stationed in Lebanon, of course.

[Question] Such statements were made in 1977 and 1982 following the Israeli invasion and you repeat them at every glimmer of hope. The truth is, your eminence, that Lebanese legitimacy, including that of the military establishment, is divided within itself. The 6th Brigade in the western sector represents a certain legitimacy and another brigade in another sector represents a second kind of legitimacy. Do you believe that the Lebanese people, who were not a party to this war, can in reality become a force able to assert its authority and prestige?

[Answer] Why do we allow the divided, combative, destructive and badly splintered militias to survive and not allow the legitimate government to rule? All Lebanese party militias are splintered but nonetheless are effective and we are reticent toward them. Why do we overlook divisions within the militias despite their detrimental effects on us and on the public interest and we do not allow ourselves to accept the division within the state?

[Question] For the simple reason that the militias are stronger.

[Answer] No. This is not true. They are stronger than we are because we have accepted them and have succumbed to them. This is not right. If these militias were constructive or had they, when they took over security in their

areas, protected the people and safeguarded their honor and possessions, we would have said that they could go on. But the legitimate government, its weakness and fragmentation notwithstanding, is better than the militias.

[Question] But based on this premise, some may say that the Phalange militias have safeguarded people's honor, property and possessions and therefore have earned the right to exist and go on.

[Answer] Some may say this, but others may say that they did not safeguard anything but rather were arrogant, hostile, etc. Militia wrongdoings are not confined to the western sector. They are reported by everyone: no safety, no peace and no rest for anyone.

[Question] Some Lebanese have demanded the establishment of an Islamic republic in Lebanon. As a man of religion, do you envisage such a republic? And do you believe that it may offer a solution or a way out of this crisis or will it complicate it further?

[Answer] We must deal with the matter now. As for the distant future, it is not in our hands. We are a mixture of closely-related ideologies, customs, and traditions. We have Muslims and we have Christians. This people, made up of these two groups, cannot, under the current difficult circumstances, allow the establishment of an Islamic republic. Hence, and based on this concept, we do not advocate the existence of an Islamic state or a Christian one. Indeed, we advocate a Lebanese state set up with Christian and Muslim cooperation. As for the demand currently put forth by some brothers, it may be in reply to the Christian call for a Christian homeland. I support neither an Islamic nor a Christian state, but rather a Lebanese state under which the Lebanese people can live their lives guided by their own free harmless, non-injurious ideology.

[Question] A certain faction of the Beirut population has been subjected to a kind of violence that made it feel like the broken wing of Lebanon. Does this feeling still exist and what have you done to raise the morale of this group?

[Answer] I would like to say that the Muslims act only on the basis of their sound Islamic ideology. Our ideology does not allow us to attack and kill people because of their different religion, opinions or political doctrines. Our religion calls for freedom of action and practice. We are being unjustly blamed and some ideas are being raised to discredit Islam. But I would like to say on record that we, as Muslims, live our lives in light of our religious concepts and understanding. This religion that gives us and others a life of freedom and dignity does not allow us to attack others. When we saw that some groupings wanted to discredit some of our citizens, we decided not to join in this tactic. We felt that shunning hostilities would cost us lives, property and possessions but we felt that such losses would be much lower if we were to sink in the same quagmire as others. When we espoused this philosophy, we did not reach the result which I have already indicated. Our wing was not broken for we are strong in our faith, our ideology, our morale, our people, our history and our collective self. We ask God to help us be the agent that builds and the group that brings people together in peace and harmony.

[Question] How do you assess the Syrian role in West Beirut?

[Answer] It must be said that the Syrian forces are playing a constructive role at this stage. They have succeeded in curbing the militias and closing down their offices. These are some of the merits of Syrian presence in West Beirut. Moreover, this presence has restored some faith that life, dialogue and legitimacy will be restored. This is a praiseworthy role.

12502

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## QADHDHAFI'S SOUTH PACIFIC OVERTURES OBSERVED

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 21 May 87 p 12

[Article by Gerald Stewart: "Canberra Breaks with Tripoli--Qadhafi Making Trouble in South Pacific--Next to Soviet Union, Libyan Regime Is Trying to Gain Influence in Australia"]

[Text] Melbourne, 20 May--The principal reason why the socialist government of Australia broke off diplomatic relations with the Qadhafi regime were the Libyan efforts to influence the drive toward independence by Australia's aboriginal population. Another reason was Libya's growing interest in the South Pacific region in which the Soviet Union is also attempting to play a role. Qadhafi is offering his support to disgruntled elements in Australia and trying to incite them. Socialist Prime Minister Bob Hawke believes that Libya's sole interest is to create unrest. It is trying to expand its disputes with France to New Caledonia, the French overseas territory halfway between the Fiji Islands and Australia. Qadhafi seems to be hoping for greater successes there than in his challenge to France on African soil.

Australia, which views itself as the protector of the young island nations of the South Pacific, has been more concerned of late about Libyan intervention than about the efforts of the Soviet Union to secure fishing rights and obtain landing rights for its airline in these countries and to establish diplomatic relations with them. In Canberra, sources are saying that neither the United States, Australia's ally, nor France appear to have recognized the danger posed by Libya. Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden believes that French policy in New Caledonia which refuses to grant independence to the Kanaks and her continuation of nuclear testing at the Mururoa site is responsible for providing Libya with an opportunity to become active in the region with which it had no relations whatever until just a short time ago.

David Lange, the prime minister of New Zealand, is less concerned about the Libyan threat, believing that it can be contained. For its part, Australia plans to make the Libyan issue the main topic on the agenda of the South Pacific Forum the 13 member nations of which are due to meet on 29 May in the West Samoan capital of Apia. New Zealand believes the issue should be dealt with in passing at the meeting of this loosely organized common interest group. New Zealand, after all, is still agitated about the sinking of the Greenpeace vessel "Rainbow Warrior" by French agents. For another thing, New



Zealand does not wish to create the impression at the Apia meeting that it has joined forces with Australia in an anti-Qadhafi front and is now pressuring the island nations to join it. Meanwhile, Australia (which will be represented at Apia by its prime minister, Bob Hawke) has sent one of its high-ranking foreign ministry officials on a trip to inform the other member nations of the Forum about Libya's probable intentions.

Papua New Guinea, granted independence by Australia 12 years ago, has also issued a warning about the Libyans. The country's foreign minister, Ted Diro, believes that Libya aims to direct the region "onto the road to terrorism." Papua New Guinea has therefore rejected a Libyan proposal to establish diplomatic relations, following attempts by the Qadhafi regime to influence the elections scheduled in June by providing money to opposition groups and to help put a government friendly to Libya in power. Diro fears that Libya will introduce weapons into the region in addition to money in order to install puppet governments in the island nations. In Irian, the Western half of New Guinea which is a part of Indonesia, the Libyans, according to Diro, are giving support to the guerillas of the independence movement.

Libya has cast a special eye on the 80-island nation of Vanuatu, the former New Hebrides which were jointly administered by Great Britain and France. Vanuatu is the only country in the region which has diplomatic relations to Cuba. In the capital city of Port Vila, Cuba is planning to build an embassy which is to serve as a headquarters for further Cuban efforts in the region. Vanuatu's Prime Minister Walter Lini, an Anglican priest friendly to Libya, has cut down on military cooperation with Australia and threatened to put a total stop to it unless Australian intelligence immediately ceases its operations in Vanuatu. But according to Prime Minister Hawke, Australia feels it is justified in taking all appropriate precautions to keep Libya from gaining greater influence. Until now, Vanuatu has been sending its officer candidates to Australia for training. The Australian government has learned that at least 70 members of the governing Vanua'Aku Party are to receive political, military and propaganda training in Libya in the near future. The Libyans also plan to build an international airport on Vanuatu. Libya's man in Port Vila, however, is not thought to be Lini, who recently suffered a stroke, but Barak Sope, the 36 year-old general secretary of the leftwing ruling party who is in charge of the preparations for the elections scheduled for November. Sope, who attended school in Australia, wants to push Australian and other Western firms out of Vanuatu. During the past few years, he has repeatedly spent time in Libya and has also sent his bodyguards there for training.

The New Caledonian independence movement also stands ready to accept Libyan help in its struggle against the French "occupiers."

9478

CSO: 3620/228

## BRIEFS

JANA AGREEMENT WITH TASS--Tripoli, 7 June (JANA)--The minutes of an agreement on promoting and supporting cooperation between JANA and the Soviet TASS News Agency were signed today in Tripoli. The minutes of the agreement were signed by the brother secretary of JANA and the director general of TASS. The minutes of the agreement include emphasis on the importance of promoting and supporting the processes of exchanging written and pictorial news as well as exploiting all technical means and capabilities to bolster all facets of cooperation. In addition, it was agreed to exchange expertise between the two agencies and to encourage visits by journalists from both agencies as well as to provide courses in the fields of editing, photography, and technical maintenance. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1400 GMT 7 Jun 87 LD] /12913

CSO: 4500/112

## SARAH AL-MAHDI DISCUSSES CURRENT ISSUES

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 13-19 Jun 87 pp 23-24

[Interview with Mrs Sarah al-Fadil al-Mahdi, wife of Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, by Jamal al-'Alawi: "Al-Sadiq's Work Takes Him From the Family"; 'Amman, date not given]

[Text] Mrs Sarah al-Fadil, the wife of Sudanese Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, is a special kind of woman. She combines the roles of wife and mother with such keen interest in politics as to make a career of it. She has advanced within the ranks of the Ummah Party to become the only Sudanese woman among five men who are members of the General Secretariat of the Ummah Party. AL-TADAMUN met with Mrs Sarah al-Mahdi a few days ago during her visit to Jordan, and conducted an interview with her dealing with some aspects of the life of the wife of a venerable politician, party leader, and head of government. Here is the text of the interview:

[Question] What are the most outstanding moments that remain fixed in your memory when you recall the events of the April 1985 uprising?

[Answer] I was in a state of tension and anxiety as a result of conflicting reports about the situation in the Sudan just before the popular uprising. We were hearing that the people had revolted and that the old regime would end within an hour. Then we would hear other reports denying the seriousness of the situation. But, thanks be to God, in the end the people were able to break their bonds and return the genie to the bottle.

[Question] Until those moments, were you afraid that the uprising would not succeed?

[Answer] Yes, I was afraid that the uprising would not succeed at that time. However, throughout Numayri's 16 years of rule, I believed that the revolution was bound to come and that it would be victorious. I used to repeat the saying, "If one day the people want life, destiny will surely respond favorably," with absolute faith and firm conviction that the dark clouds would disperse.

[Question] From what you say, are we to understand that the uprising was organized, or was it spontaneous?

[Answer] The people's revolution was not spontaneous; it was organized. It took place in a series of movements, uprisings, and revolutions, each of which prepared the way for the next, The revolution benefitted from the mistakes that had taken place in the preceding experiment, and brought a new strategy. Finally, a widespread attitude of resistance prevailed among the people, thus preventing the former regime from using one group against another, as it used to do to prolong its existence.

[Question] Do you think the extradition of former President Muhammad Ja'far Numayri is still an issue?

[Answer] At the start of the revolution, the Sudanese people insisted on a natural demand of theirs, that Numayri should be sent back to receive appropriate retribution for what he had done. However most of the Sudanese people--now know that what Numayri is experiencing in his life in exile is as sufficient punishment as he deserves. Therefore the people have come not to mention him, except occasionally when they remember the evil. The problem of his extradition is no longer a preoccupying concern, now that the Sudanese people have turned their various institutions and organizations toward building and removing the vestiges of the May regime.

[Question] What is your impression of the period after the uprising, and your impression of the extent of the citizens' dedication to building and restoring the economy to its natural course?

[Answer] The Sudanese, as a people and as a government, have begun to build and reconstruct, particularly after the large agricultural yield of the past season's crops, for God granted us a good season. If these conditions continue, we shall not need foreign help or imports. In terms of economics, the government has laid down emergency plans to satisfy current needs and counteract devastation, medium-range plans whose results will become visible after the relief period, and long-range plans designed to treat the Sudanese economy realistically.

[Question] How can the high debts that the Sudanese government has inherited be surmounted?

[Answer] This requires understanding and cooperation on the part of the international community and lenders. The policy of the present government is based on mutual understanding with the lending institutions; rescheduling debts in a manner that will enable the Sudan to move to cover its urgent requirements; and reviewing inherited debts and stopping the high and exorbitant interest rates that are tormenting the Sudanese people. The debts that were really invested and from which the people have benefitted are being repaid, but the government is not obliged to repay those that were wasted and scattered.

[Question] How does the family of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi pass an ordinary day in its life?

[Answer] I don't think a day passes without official business and concerns. The day begins at 7:45, when al-Sadiq goes to the office. At 8:30, I go to my office in the general headquarters of the Ummah Party, and each of us occupies himself with various problems: al-Sadiq with his big problems and their great weight for the entire Sudanese nation, and I within my small and modest purview in the Ummah Party. Afterwards, we come home at the end of the day at different times. It often happens that we do not meet, or one of us comes home and finds the other sleeping. In this way, we pass the entire day in public work. In addition, I look after some domestic duties and supervise the children. They are now above the age for direct supervision, but they still are young people with certain problems and concerns in which they desire their parents to participate. At whatever hour of the night al-Sadiq comes home, he meets them all and talks to them about their concerns. We cooperate with each other to harmonize public life and family matters. We hope this period will be a temporary one that will end when things stabilize in the Sudan, God willing.

[Question] How do you deal with the children's educational expectations and choices for the future?

[Answer] We do not choose for them what subject they should study or what education they should choose for their lives. However, as a Sudanese family living through the problems and needs of the Sudan, we let the condition of the Sudan indicate the way for their education. Thanks be to God, who has made the desires of al-Sadiq's children harmonize with the needs of the Sudanese situation.

[Question] How many members are there in al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's family?

[Answer] The family is composed of a father, two mothers, and ten children. We lived in one house for 24 years of our married life; however, last year, after the young people grew older, we moved into two separate residences.

[Question] Your openness encourages us to ask you about the question of two wives. In al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's home, is there the problem of "the rival wife," as it is called in some Arab homes?

[Answer] In the Sudan, and in our family in particular, this tradition has become normal. We saw it among our grandparents and parents. Although, praise be to God, it is dying out now because social and economic life do not allow it, in our life we have dealt with the situation as two sisters. The word "rival wife" is not current in Sudanese society, and I do not like to hear it, because the second wife may be a colleague and sister. The word "rival wife" is harsh.

[Question] What is the nature of the functions you perform in the party?

[Answer] I am a member of the General Secretariat of the Sudanese Ummah Party. My responsibility concerns the party's organization in the regions, concentrating on women and youth. This is a sector that requires great attention, especially since it involves working to draw in young people and establish to design effective programs capable of rallying their energies.



[Question] To what extent do Sudanese women participate in public and political life?

[Answer] I hope this will be the last question. My answer is that Sudanese women have effectively participated in public life for a long time. They have obtained all their rights, even the right to equal pay, which is a right for which women in the United States are still waiting. Sudanese women have their full political rights, but it remains for us to exercise them in the best way. There are no legal limits preventing women from participating and contributing. The only restriction is that of customs and traditions.

[Question] Although we respect the wish that the previous question be the last, the answer has obliged us to ask another question, which will be the last: Does equality between men and women in the Sudan take place within the context of the slogan of equality being raised by modern women, or is it within the context of Islamic justice?

[Answer] It is within the context of Islam and the creation of equivalent opportunities. When I say "equality," I do not thereby imply the equality demanded in the West--that we should strip ourselves of our femininity and leave our duties in order to be swept into wrangling with men and "wearing their shoes," as the Arabic proverb puts it. We want to work within the Islamic context, the correct guide.

12937

CSO: 4504/263

SUDAN

NEAR EAST

COMMUNIST PARTY, CPSU ISSUE JOINT COMMUNIQUE

JN221916 Khartoum SUNA in English 1730 GMT 22 Jun 87

[Text] Khartoum, June 22 (SUNA)—The Sudanese Communist Party (SCP) and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) have issued a joint communique at the end of the final leg of a SCP tour of several East and West European countries, the SCP daily AL-MAYDAN reported Monday.

The two Marxist-Leninist parties welcomed in their communique the organization of an international conference on the Middle East issue to be attended by all concerned parties including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The two sides reiterated in the communique their efforts to unify the communists of the world and to cooperate with all anti-war democratic forces.

The communique stressed the need for strengthening the joint act of all forces supporting the policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Prominent in the communique was the importance of developing equal relations based on common interest between Sudan and the Soviet Union and the need for consolidating the brotherly relations between the communist parties of the two countries.

The SCP delegation headed by the party secretary general, Muhammad Ibrahim Nuqud, met during its East and West European tour with the leaders of the communist parties of Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Portugal, France, Hungary, Italy, and the Soviet Union.

/8309

CSO: 4500/114

## BRIEFS

RADIO SPLA ANNIVERSARY--Radio SPLA Nationalities Service yesterday celebrated its second anniversary. All the nationalities presently broadcasting--the Nubah, Latuka, Nuer, Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk--yesterday and today had a combined continuous 1-hour broadcast. The head of information unit, Comrade Captain Atem Yaak Atem, has commended the program presenters in the six languages for their excellent job in enlightening and correctly informing the local population on the current affairs in the country. Comrade Capt Atem Yaak Atem expressed his optimism that more local languages will be included on Radio SPLA broadcasts in the nearest future. He stressed that Radio SPLA by itself is a complete battalion of truth that has been able to bombard lies and false propaganda broadcast over the enemy's mouthpiece in Omdurman and Juba, adding that the Radio SPLA Nationalities Service has been able to put its listeners on a clear picture of what is going on in the country. In conclusion, Comrade Capt Atem Yaak Atem urged the program presenters in the local languages to go ahead with the task of enlightening and educating the masses in Sudan. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 16 Jun 87 EA] /8309

CSO: 4500/114

## POLITICAL PERSONALITIES RESIGN, REPLACED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 24 Apr 87 p 11

[Article: "Tunisian Changes, Constant Surprises"]

[Text] The ministerial reshuffle which President Bourguiba introduced into the ruling party's management and the cabinet makeup came as a surprise to all observers. Though the change was expected for some time, the talk about it did not go beyond personal opinions dictated by the conditions of the political and economic reality under which Tunisia lives. But in a lightning-like move, which is something to which President Bourguiba has accustomed us the political equations and alliances were upturned and a reshuffle occurred at the top of the ruling party's management, with Abdelaziz Ben Dhia and Hedi Baccouche exchanging positions. The first was appointed director of the Destourian Socialist Party, and the second took over the Ministry of Social Affairs.

This change took place less than a week after a partial reshuffle affecting the Ministry of Transport. Mohamed Kraem, the minister of transport, was relieved and the ministry was annexed to the portfolio of Mansour Skhiri, the minister in charge of the president's office and the minister of labor. It is note worthy that this change came immediately after the opposition parties issued a declaration announcing their solidarity with the Islamic Tendency Movement, which was deported [as published] Tunisian-Iranian diplomatic relations were sovered. But the real surprise in this change is embodied in outsting Bechir Khantouch from the party's Central Committee. Bechir's star rose in the Tunisian political scene in the wake of the ruling party's latest congress when he was appointed member of the Political Bureau to succeed ex-Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali. In the Tunisian Chamber of Deputies election which was held last November, Khantouch was elected the chamber's deputy speaker. President Bourguiba had appointed Khantouch in his capacity as a lawyer to prosecute the financial corruption and mismanagement cases connected with Mohamed Mzali.

In this reshuffle, the following persons were appointed members of the ruling party's Political Bureau: Chamber of Deputies speaker Mahmoud Msadi; General Secretary of the Tunisian Labor Federation Abdelaziz Bouraoui; Farmers Federation Chairman Taoufik (el Said); and Women's Federation Chairperson Fatma Douik. Note that each of these four represent, from his or her position of responsibility, the various popular organizations.

8494/12951

CSO: 4504/222

## MINISTER KHELIL DISCUSSES COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC CHANGES

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 24 Apr 87 pp 45-47

[Interview with Minister of Economy Ismail Khelil by 'Afaf Zayn in Tunis: "Tunisian Minister of Economy Ismail Khelil to AL-HAWADITH: Rescue Plan Has Tackled Tunisia's Crisis"; date not given]

[Text] Tunis--Tunisia, like other Third World countries, suffers from the two crises: debt and unemployment. These two crises have intensified in the wake of emigration from the countryside to the cities, of the drought crisis which has afflicted most of the African countries, and of the drop in the oil prices and in the wake of Spain's and Portugal's accession to the EEC.

The new Tunisian cabinet is headed by Rachid Sfar, a statesman and a well-known economic expert. He is assisted by a group of specialized ministers, led by Minister of Economy Ismail Khelil, who is distinguished by an open-minded and pragmatic economic awareness that seeks to create the right opportunities and laws to attract Arab capital and investment on terms convenient to the Tunisian economy.

Prior to preparing this interview for publication, Minister Ismail Khelil arrived in London, accompanied by Mohamed Skhiri, governor of the Tunisian Central Bank, where the Tunisian delegation held with the representatives of 94 banks a meeting similar to the Paris meeting, which was held last February. The Tunisian minister of economy said that the purpose of the visit was not so much to reschedule debts or to get new loans as it was to familiarize the friends with the true picture of the accomplishments we have made within the framework of the Sixth Plan and the beginning of the Seventh Plan.

What are the government's economic reform plans and what are the future's features?

In the interview with Minister of Economy Ismail Khelil, we began with the following question:

[Question] Tunisia, like other countries in the developing world, is suffering from the two crisis of unemployment and debt. What are the government's plans to tackle these two crises?



[Answer] There is no doubt that the Tunisian economy, like the economy of many developing countries, is experiencing some difficulties which emanate from external factors. I wish to note that Tunisia was able to achieve a high growth rate in the 1960's and 1970's and up to the early 1980's.

When we started implementing the Sixth Plan covering the years 1982-87, the plan encountered some difficulties emanating from deterioration of trade exchange conditions and from fluctuations in the currency exchange rate, which had a negative impact on the Tunisian economy. Despite this, we were able to continue implementation of this plan until the end of 1986, when we experienced a difficult period. Numerous external factors united against us, including the declining oil prices and a catastrophic agricultural season, compared to the previous seasons. Moreover, the tourist season did not rise to the required level. Our country's tourist sector was affected by the well-known incidents which occurred in the area.

Together, these factors intensified the difficulties. The Tunisian government took several steps to stem the deterioration in the economic situation. We started implementing this plan at the beginning of August 1986. The plan was approved and ratified by the Tunisian Chamber of Deputies. It can be said that Tunisia has been able to overcome these difficulties, which had their positive aspects because they revealed to us the structural negatives from which the Tunisian economy suffered. The rescue plan tried, and I believe that it has succeeded to deal with the difficulties by tackling their causes. It can be said that we overcame the crisis in 1986. We believe that the signs are very promising this year and that the growth rate will exceed the percentage we had expected. As for the Seventh Plan, which covers the years 1987-91, it will continue implementing the other phases of this plan.

As for the debts, I beg to correct this expression. It is true that there is a crisis but I don't believe that it is an excessive crisis that has gone beyond bounds which cause one to fear. The foreign debt volume represents currently 60 percent of the gross national income. This is a reasonable percentage when compared with the developing countries whose indebtedness exceeds their national production. These debts are characterized by their reasonable and acceptable structure because the interest rate on foreign debts continues to be within the limits of 6 percent and because the debt repayment periods are within the limits of 20 year. This structure is reasonable and reassuring. There is also another reassuring aspect when talking about these debts because 60 percent of Tunisia's foreign loans are long-term loans obtained on soft and acceptable terms. There is no cause for panic. Despite this, the government continues to be cautious. This is why we always focus on long-range and soft-term loans and avoid commercial loans which have a negative impact on debt volume and debt servicing.

[Question] What are the Seventh Plan's main tendencies and what are the main priorities on which the Seventh Economic Plan focuses?

[Answer] This program focuses on the plans and means that make it possible to ensure further success and feasibility for the Tunisian economy and to introduce greater freedom to the economic structures. This tendency

comes within the framework of a complete plan that seeks to focus on several elements. The first element is to control both public and private consumption. The second element is to rationalize investment and the third element is to push for widespread growth. These elements constitute the economic strategy we have been pursuing, especially since the second half of 1986. We want to develop the country and to modernize working conditions because 60 percent of Tunisians are below the age of 20. We also exert efforts to expand the employment situation. We want to continue the development while maintaining our external financial balance. We attach the utmost importance to keeping Tunisia capable of meeting its international obligations and always repaying its debts. We have never been tardy in repaying our debts.

This is why we constantly face a problem whose most prominent elements are: How do we reconcile creating new employment opportunities and continuing our development process with the resources available to us and with maintenance of a foreign balance without any borrowing? As for controlling consumption and investment, it is intended to lessen the pressures on the balance of payments, i.e., on imports. We are required to do this if we are to control the external financial balance, i.e., if we don't want to continue to import at a high rate that leads to a flaw in the external financial balance.

As for improving exports, this step is intended to strengthen the external balance we seek to achieve in our external financial revenues. If we want to continue the growth process, then we must continue the importation of equipment and machinery. But it is required to secure success conditions for the exports battle. To date, development has been focused on the internal market and on this market's needs. We seek to alter this tendency and to channel industry toward foreign markets. This is why we have had to change our tendencies fundamentally and to create the conditions of success for this change.

To start, the exports battle requires us to be able to compete with the others in terms of cost and quality. This dictates that our economic structures be able to move and to produce under the best conditions. We cannot create such conditions unless we give these structures the freedom and flexibility they need to move with utter ease and without encountering any obstacles that prevent them from performing these tasks.

This is why we have begun to liberate the economy at several levels. At the investment level, anybody wishing to participate in investment was required to obtain advance approval from the authorities concerned. The current tendency is to eliminate this advance approval so that the investor may be free in his investments. The National Investment Agency was entrusted with issuing such approvals. As a result of the current tendency, the investor, be he a foreigner or a Tunisian, is free to invest his money as he deems fit. The government will have a selective policy insofar as privileges given to investors are concerned, especially privileges in the sectors which the government seeks to encourage and on which it focuses. For example, projects in the export sector are given by the government greater privileges than they have been in the past. The same goes for projects that contribute to reducing the provincial imbalance and to the projects that contribute to mastering advanced technology. Such projects were not given privileges in the past.

At the import level, there is movement at present to deal with the import permits that were required before anybody may embark on an import transaction. By the end of the Seventh Plan, we seek to drop all these restrictions and to allow the import of all goods to be free, with the exception of some consumer goods. There is also a tendency to reduce the customs fees so that they may not exceed the tax rate, namely 15 percent, by the end of the Seventh Plan.

At present, customs taxes on some goods amount to nearly 200 percent. High taxes have a negative impact on the export process and do not improve the exporters' ability to compete. At another level, the pricing policy has been based so far on the official administration's approval of the prices of goods available in the market. The administration, along with the producer, determines the right price for a commodity. The controls determining this price were the production cost plus a profit percentage. This policy was not successful and did not help reduce production costs. We have begun to liberate the prices of manufactured goods. In 1986, we liberated nearly 40 percent and in 1987 we will liberate about 20 percent. By this year's end, most of the prices, i.e., 60 percent, will be free and subject to supply and demand, i.e., competition.

In the banking sector, we have begun to introduce changes that seek to free the banks' interest rates. This will enhance the banking sector's activity and will enable this sector to absorb as much as possible the national savings. A high interest rate may induce the citizens to deposit their savings in the banks.

As for Tunisia's public sector, it owns 60 percent of the national economy. This is a high percentage and we seek to reduce it by unburdening the administration of some economic activities and turning them over to the private sector. We seek to bolster the private sector's role in the economy so that the state may continue to be in charge of strategic commodities and the private sector may be in charge of other goods. These are the most significant tendencies on which the Seventh Plan's special program focuses. The objective is to endow the Tunisian economy with enough flexibility to enable it to produce at a reasonable cost and high quality.

[Question] Do you think that releasing the private sector's freedom of initiative, liberating some of the public sector's segments, and freeing the banking sector constitute the right steps to boost and, consequently, will bring success to the new economic tendency?

[Answer] We believe that this tendency or this complete program seeks to reduce the state's role in some sectors and to strengthen the private sector's role. For example, experience has proven that the state cannot continue to control the construction material sector or the textiles sector. The private sector is better qualified to take charge of these economic activities. Ordinarily, the private sector moves more energetically its performance is more intelligent than that of the public sector, and it has room for maneuver. We have begun to dispense with some sectors and they will be taken over by the private sector. This is an important phase though which we are going in order to prepare for a more important phase, namely the phase of freeing the movement of money. We want Arab investment

to turn toward Tunisia and we have created the right conditions and provided all the legal incentives and all the structures to achieve this objective. A capitalist wants freedom of movement and we want our plans and programs to respond to these needs and want the investors to find here incentives that encourage them to engage in trade and production. In fact, Tunisia enjoys numerous import and export advantages by virtue of our geographic location at a crossroad between Europe, the Arab world, and Africa. We have good structures, we have good legal guarantees that encourage investors, and we have manpower and great talent in the various fields. Our markets are broad and absorb various consumer goods and we have excellent friendships binding us to Europe and the Arab world. In the EEC, which has 58 million consumers, we have special privileges that enable us to export our industrial products. This will be a major advantage in the future if the investors decide to invest their monies in projects channelled toward exports. There is no problem insofar as marketing is concerned. We have broad, good, and abundant markets which may act as a major incentive to the investors.

[Question] At this level, what is your assessment of the Paris meeting which was held between Arab investors and a number of Tunisian leaders and what are the most significant results produced by this meeting?

[Answer] This special meeting produced excellent results. This meeting is no comparable with the so-called Paris Club meeting or the advisory group meeting for which the World Bank is preparing. The Paris meeting was a special meeting. The decision to hold it was made last September at Tunisia's request to hold a discussion with the fraternal and friendly countries and with the Arab financial establishments and funds with which we deal. The purpose of the meeting was to familiarize our partners and friends with the economic tendencies included within our reform program and with the accomplishments we have achieved. It was also intended to familiarize the group of partners and friends with the aid we need in this phase of our economic procession. We want to free trade and the private import sector. This requires greater external resources within the framework of the cooperation existing between Tunisia and these parties. In fact, all the countries and establishments which took part in the Paris meeting responded to us positively and lauded our economic tendencies, saying that they are capable of endowing the Tunisian economy with greater freedom. We succeeded in initially mobilizing the equivalent of \$250 million on soft terms. We hope that the coming days will enable us to increase this sum to provide us with a major support for this year. All these fraternal and friendly countries and Arab establishments and funds have pledged to strengthen their cooperation with us in the future according to the dictates of Tunisia's situation. We are focusing on soft-term loans so that the indebtedness burden may not intensify.

[Question] There are numerous rumors concerning Tunisia's oil situation. Is it true that the discovered oil reserve is about to be depleted and that no new finds have been made yet? What are the alternatives to which Tunisia will resort?



[Answer] The oil reserve has been very beneficial to us and has yielded this year the equivalent of 350 million Tunisian dinars. We expect to discover more oil in 1990. But the picture may change and we may experience a shortage in this vital commodity in 1990. Therefore, we may have to import a small quantity of oil in 1991. This means that we must prepare ourselves for this possibility by developing our economy. The economy is the right field to provide the alternatives. This does not mean that we have previously neglected the economic sector. On the contrary, we have exported agricultural products and textiles. Textiles have held second place in the exports list. We have also exported and continue to export hides, phosphates and chemical fertilizers. We are trying to channel the small and medium-size industries toward the foreign markets. There is also tourism, which is the number-one article which provides us with nearly 450 million dinars annually.

As an alternative to the possibility of depleted oil and to make sure that we secure enough funds to purchase this vital commodity, we must increase the production of these commodities and to channel them toward exportation to new markets and must try to produce new commodities that are in demand abroad. We believe that joint projects will help us attract investors and open the doors of new markets.

8494/12951

CSO: 4504/222



## ISLAMIST STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS DISCUSSED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 26 May 87 p 18

[Article: "After Ordinary Tunisians Stop Taking Account of the University, the Student Opposition Demonstrates in the Capital To Heat the Situation"]

[Text] What impelled the Islamist students to take to the streets in the Tunisian capital and organize a limited demonstration this 23 April?

Although different things are being said, it is clear that the confrontation between the Islamists and the government has become sharp and that each side is lying in wait for the other.

While the government has arrested about 300 Islamist leaders, the Islamists apparently aim to create periodic crises, leaving the government no time to catch its breath.

Since this February, escalation began in the Tunisian University with the Islamists calling strikes. Certain cases involving the student union were taken as the point of departure for these strikes, but they were really based on political reasons, among them recognition of the Islamic Student Organization.

The Islamist students set out by various means to hinder the freedom to study. They were successful in that the conduct of classes was greatly disturbed. The government responded with a broad campaign of arrests in Islamist student circles, although this campaign did not include the highest leaders of the Islamic Tendency Student Movement, who escaped the grasp of the security forces at the appropriate time, remaining in Tunisia and leading student activity from hidden locations through the second and third echelons--"the field leadership," as they call it.

At the same time as the tone began to escalate against the Islamist students and Islamists generally, the leader of the movement, Rachid Ghanouchi, continued his challenge to the government by giving "religious" classes in the mosques, classes he has repeatedly been asked to halt.

It was just at this time that the campaign of arrests began in the ranks of the political group of the Islamic Union. Its first victim was Rachid

Ghanouchi himself. Although the campaign included dozens of others, it did not extend to the senior leaders, who went into hiding, although they stayed in Tunisia intent on challenging the government.

When the university disturbances continued after the scheduled resumption of classes this 10 April, the government, which had placed the secret police in the colleges and higher institutes, decided to let time take its course and let the students become bored and return to real studying, especially with the approach of scheduled examinations.

In fact, a modest, gradual return to classes was observed, in spite of the Islamists' efforts to put the university into a state of constant tension and to make it the subject of ordinary Tunisian conversation.

At the same time as boredom began to creep into the majority of students, it seemed as if ordinary Tunisians had stopped paying attention to what was happening at the university and were completely indifferent to it. This did not serve the state of constant tension the Islamists wanted in order to slow down the government.

Needing to kindle the fire of enthusiasm, the Islamist students planned a street demonstration. They dispatched several hundred of their number from four different locations in order to split the efforts of the police, who appear to have been taken completely by surprise. Afterwards, however, they responded swiftly.

This demonstration, which was quickly contained, was clearly intended to increase pressure on the government, inducing it to mobilize its security forces, so that the well-known saying could be brought forth: tranquility is a feeling that pervades the soul, rather than a [meaningless] show which mobilizes the police force and stations them in the streets."

However, when the gains and losses are added up, this demonstration appears to have gained the Islamists nothing. They did not get ordinary Tunisians to join them, in spite of their raising popular slogans such as those which criticised the high cost of living and low wages, along with the Islamists' usual slogans, all of which are hostile to the regime.

Thus it appears as if this demonstration was a new step toward escalation and a message to the government that the movement does not intend to limit its activity to the university and will also take to the street. However, the demonstration that took place a week before Thursday brought out a number of things:

1. The majority of participants were students. Some were young pupils.
2. The Islamists' use of offensive expressions against passers-by, particularly against girls not dressed according to Islamic codes of modesty, was not the sort of thing to create a good impression among ordinary Tunisians.
3. The ordinary man in the street did not join the demonstrators.

Instead, it seems that the Islamists lost several dozen people who were arrested during the demonstration. However, none of the leaders, either from the political movement or the student movement, fell into the hands of the police on this occasion.

This then was the message the Islamic opposition sent to the government. How was it received by the government, the various opposition groups, and the Human Rights Defense League?

The government continues to believe that the Islamists form only a small minority that can be contained and driven into a corner to insure its inaction.

The opposition agrees with the government in that the Islamists as an organization represent a minority; that, however, does not justify persecuting them. Furthermore, such persecution might work to their advantage for two reasons: 1) people sympathize with victims, and 2) persecution covers faults.

The opposition groups also apparently believe that legal prosecution of the Islamists obliges them to show solidarity with them, either based on the defense of human rights and freedoms, or because such legal prosecution might be the prelude to one that includes all the various opposition groups.

At the same time, the Islamists, whether on the university or the general political scene, are trying to keep up a minimum of tension, in what has been described as aiming to bring down the government and take power. Therefore the government will never be tolerant toward them, and has declared war against them.

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CSO: 4504/257

TUNISIA

NEAR EAST

PARIS: MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALIST GROUPS ARRESTED IN TUNIS

LD141447 Paris International Service in French 1245 GMT 14 Jun 87

[Text] More Muslim fundamentalists have been arrested in Tunisia. The police have dismantled two fundamentalist Muslim groups who were about to carry out attacks. The Tunisian authorities did not specify when these people were arrested or the size of the group. The Tunisian police seized an impressive arsenal during these operations. From Tunis, here is Karim Marsaoui:

[Marsaoui] Fire arms, ammunition, bombs, and explosives, this seriously complicates the situation of the Islamic leaders and their (?200 or 150) followers who have been imprisoned since last March, and who are waiting for their appearance before the state security court between the end of June and early July. The two armed groups of Communists whose arrest has just been announced by TAP news agency have--according to TAP--confessed that they were preparing sabotage acts in the Tunis area, and in Sahel. Caches have been discovered in Zeramdine and in (Jamal), very near Monastir, birth place of President Bourguiba, where the head of state usually spends the month of July and August and which transforms itself into a real political capital during the summer.

So far, the authorities have spoken only of the discovery of knives and propaganda material. With the new discoveries and the confessions, we may expect an increase in the wave of repression against the Islamists, who are officially accused of plotting to overthrow the regime of President Bourguiba, and to establish an Islamic state with the complicity of Iran. Tunis severed its diplomatic relations with Iran last March.

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CSO: 4500/113

## OPPOSITION MOVEMENT POLICIES, STRATEGIES TAKE GRADUAL FORM

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 6-12 Jun 87 pp 27-29

[Article by Hamidah Na'na': "AL-TADAMUN's File: The Bloody Morning in Aden, 6: A Future Open to All Possibilities"]

[Text] Since I left Aden behind al-Hadid Mountain, political speeches and sad memories have raged over it concerning the most violent civil war the last quarter of the 20th century has witnessed, and I wonder if the socialist experience is fated to progress, or, more accurately, to survive. This question continued to pursue me in the streets of Cairo, which is experiencing a setback of another kind, in an experiment which to a large degree was a model of all the socialist experiments in the Arab nation, including that of Democratic Yemen.

The memories pursued me as I sought to divine the fate of the pluralism some Yemen opposition forces abroad are calling for in a number of Arab and African countries. Most experiments in pluralism have ended up with a historic dilemma, just as the socialist experiments in the countries of the third world have. Will the crisis remain more profound than form in the various countries?

Is economic, social and political backwardness to be considered the main obstacle preventing the countries of the third world from catching up to the cavalcade of 20th century civilization?

Democratic Yemen's experiment has been the form that most embodies the crisis of development. For the sake of changing man into a different man, the Yemeni people have had to pay an exorbitant price, represented by 16,000 martyrs, if this word martyr is proper (since a martyr is a person who has met martyrdom for the sake of his property, honor or ideas).

I can state that Democratic Yemen's experiment has been the form that most embodies the crisis of development especially because the man who left (President 'Ali Nasir) believes no less in Marxism and the socialist approach than the man who came in.

It is difficult to say that what happened in Yemen was just a power struggle. It was also a crisis of power. Power in the advanced countries accrues



to the social and economic forces that are the most represented, while in the third world, so far, it has been subject to the criteria of violence, conspiracy, adventure and Bonapartist ambitions, without a Bonaparte!

The question is, Whither Aden?

That is the basic question which I brought back to Sanaa following the days I spent in Aden, and I asked it of everyone who was concerned with the future of the experiment. These could be the people who are involved in the experiment themselves, who represent the main opposition forces which left with 'Ali Nasir (and represent the opposition wing of the Yemeni Socialist Party from inside the party).

[I also presented it] to the other opposition forces which are active abroad, the likes of the National Grouping, the supporters of the National Front and a number of independent Yemeni figures. As the question was presented to them, it was also presented to the left-wing forces in the north, which consider the socialist experiment in Aden their own and whose success or failure will define the future of their work.

Just as I had previously heard various contradictory accounts of the crisis, its causes and the way in which it took place, between Aden, Sanaa and Cairo I obtained a proliferation of answers to my question about the future -- a proliferation reflecting the nature of the internal struggles and contradictions, tribal, regional and international, in this sensitive area of our Arab nation.

At a session with the former president, 'Ali Nasir, which took 3 hours, attended by a number of intellectuals who founded the Yemeni Socialist Party, the focal point of the discussion was the nature and future of the socialist experiment and whether there has been an intention on the part of the former president and former secretary general of the party to review the socialist experiment in the light of the lessons learned from the bloody struggle -- indeed in the light of his long experience in exercising power and running the affairs of the government. I can summarize the conclusion of this discussion by saying that the members of 'Ali Nasir's group still are gambling on the chance for restoring solidarity and unity to the party after all that has happened, while continuing with the same platform and orientation, although economic considerations, in the view of the majority of them, have required a review, so that the nature of South Yemen's economic situation, which dictated some flexibility on 'Ali Nasir himself which his adversaries interpreted as a retreat from theory, can be taken into account.

With respect to the other political forces, specifically the National Grouping headed by 'Abd-al-Qawi Makkawi -- whose most important prominent figures include Muhammad 'Ali Haytham, the deputy secretary general -- these people advocate a total retreat from the experiment of the single party, and indeed from Marxist theorems, with the objective of building a new experiment to be founded on the notion of propounding a charter of national honor, which all forces will agree upon and on whose basis parties will be formed representing all political currents, be they ones which grew in exile or which the development of the experiment in Democratic Yemen have brought to the fore

since independence, in other words, the establishment of an experiment of a regime founded, in terms of form, on the presence of a number of parties.

In an evaluation which the magazine AL-WAHDAH, the National Grouping's organ, presented concerning the events of 13 January 1986, the following conception was advanced for realizing national unity among the people of the southern section of Yemen "The bloody events Aden went through last January have revealed many facts and differences among the forces struggling for power. These differences among the mutually opposed forces struggling for power have strengthened the position of the tribal culture and its effect on the intellectual struggle, and the recent events have refuted the matter of ideology which the party has presented, since the people struggling fought one another on a tribal not intellectual basis, within tribal not intellectual or party frameworks. Therefore, returning to the idea of the single party will no longer become acceptable."

While the grouping considers that the new experiment should take the form of a charter of honor, the question which surges directly to mind is, on what basis will this charter exist? What will be its political content? Indeed, what will be its ideological content?

In the answer to this question, individual ideas differ and are mutually contradictory, even among the members of the National Grouping themselves or the political forces from which the National Grouping was formed. Some people consider it possible to adopt some features of the socialist experiment in the framework of public ownership, that is, retain the public sector which grew up and came into being in the light of the Marxist experiment founded on the basis of the single party.

Some others consider that it is necessary to eliminate all the results and forms the experiment produced in the course of 20 years and start over, because everything that has been achieved or built has brought the country to ruin. In the intellectual context, the grouping propounds a return to Islam and adherence to the national heritage as a basic ideology.

We can sense this in the editorial of the newspaper AL-WAHDAH which at the outset evaluated the 13 January events: "Regarding intellectual considerations, no rejection of the Islamic platform as a belief and system of life is accepted by the Yemeni people, because Islam is the basic unifier of our people and the characteristics of the Islamic platform include the stability of its rules, principles and methods, which empowers it to master life and lead it to that which is better, at all of its stages.

"It is a platform which depends on surveillance by the conscience above surveillance by the authorities, and to that end the cause of national unity must proceed from these principles. Other ideas or ideologies will be a disaster, and the theorem of class struggle must be eliminated from the national lexicon because there are no differences and no struggles among the classes of the people."

With respect to political form, the grouping advocates the presence of a central government in which government will be founded on bases of

consultation. They consider that Yemeni history contains a model of the desired nation, taking into consideration a central, basic issue for the success and development of Yemen, which is the issue of unity between the two segments.

Apart from this view, the grouping considers that any other theorem will place South Yemen in a historic, political and mass predicament. What then are the forces that make up the National Grouping and possess the plan mentioned above?

The National Grouping was established in Baghdad in 1980 after a group of Yemeni political organizations held a conference with the objective of national unity. These forces are:

1. The Front of Yemeni Unity, which consists of a number of independent figures such as Muhammad 'Ali Haytham, 'Ali al-Shaykh and 'Abdallah Darwish 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Kathiri.
2. The Arena Group, which consists of people who fought the regime in the south from the territory of the north, the most famous of whom are 'Abd-al-Qawi Shahir, 'Ali Muhammad al-Kafish, Ahmad Hassan al-'Attas and Ahmad Salih Sayf.
3. The League of the Sons of the South, whose most important figures are Shaykhan al-Habash, Ahmad 'Ali al-Jifri, Ahmad Abu Bakr 'Akramah and Farid Abu Bakr.
4. The People's Organization, whose most famous figures are 'Izab Muhammad and Fadl al-'Uzaybi.

Of course these organizations do not agree with one another over all issues or views related to the building of society in Yemen, but enmity to the dominant regime in South Yemen might be the denominator common to those groups, which met in Baghdad in March 1980 and reached agreement over a program of nine points, which are:

1. Establishment of a just, tentative democratic national unionist regime which will derive its legislation from Islamic belief.
2. Elimination of factional and cliquish elements and discrimination which constitute an obstacle to the unity and progress of Yemen and its development in a civilized manner.
3. Preservation of the teachings of Islamic belief, elimination of atheistic currents and adherence to the national heritage and the legacy of the civilization.
4. Pursuit of a national economic policy with a national perspective and dimensions for the sake of building a liberated domestic economy which is concentrated on the rules of modern science and carefully-studied, programmed scientific planning.
5. Encouragement of domestic capital within the limits of the public interest.

6. Organization of the relations between the public and private sectors in a manner which will bring about the general national interest in accordance with specific timing.

7. The guarantee of freedom of opinion, thought, organization and expression for all members of the people and freedom of political and cultural activity.

8. The construction and development of the national army on modern bases and empowerment of it to participate in the process of construction and development in isolation from tribal struggles.

9. The effort to realize the unity of Yemeni soil and the effort to establish the true unity of the people founded on sound democratic popular bases through the provision of a free democratic environment for realizing the will of the Yemeni people regarding the restoration of their unity.

While the solution, in the view of the grouping, is embodied in the abrogation of the Marxist experiment and the total elimination of its effects, whether in the cultural or political contexts, the possibility of carrying out this plan in the foreseeable future is out of the question, or at least far-fetched, for a number of reasons and for considerations of regional and international balance in the Arabian Peninsula region and the Horn of Africa. However, the most important reason which we can consider the major obstacle is that 20 years of the experiment (1967-86) founded on the principle of Marxism, with stages differing from the days of the National Front regime allied with the political forces to single party rule, is that these 20 years created a new generation of personnel who were educated in socialist schools and the socialist atmosphere, and see no alternative to the form or experiment that exists.

On the other hand, the party, to a large extent, constitutes a form of tribal balance within its ranks, and its balance could swing to the favor of some tribes at one point to the exclusion of others. Moreover, when new struggle adjusts the balance, such a balance to a large extent reconciles the advocacy of tribalism and the advocacy of party and takes the nature of the social composition of the Yemeni society into consideration.

These are the main opposition forces outside Yemen and these are their alternative plans. Can these forces and plans threaten the regime in Aden?

People most concerned with Yemeni affairs assert that in order to create a strong front in opposition to the regime in Aden, two basic elements must be present:

The first element is to narrow the gap between the two plans that have been set forth, the plan of President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and the plan of the National Grouping. This has not been advanced at the present time, or, more accurately, is simply not acceptable to the proponents of the two plans. Neither is 'Ali Nasir willing to retreat from Marxism nor do the leaders of the grouping agree to the foundations of the socialist experiment in its Marxist format.



The second element is the unification of the political detachments and forces opposed to the regime abroad under the banner of the most influential forces, which are embodied in 'Ali Nasir and his group, because:

1. Former president 'Ali Nasir enjoys broad support among the masses of the Yemeni people because of his realistic policy in the economic context, by means of which he managed to solve endemic supply problems and realize some relative relaxation with respect to people's freedoms and security.
2. 'Ali Nasir's possession of the support of a significant segment of the party rank and file. Proof of that is that the majority of the central committee members have joined him abroad or are now in prisons.
3. Most important, here, 'Ali Nasir has a real decisive force on the ground consisting of 15,000 fighting men who are among the Yemeni army's personnel and officer elite (most of whom were trained in the Soviet Union), and they have advanced weapons in hand which they managed to bring out with them after their defeat in Aden. They also have a popular base abroad represented by the tens of thousands of refugees who have joined up with 'Ali Nasir in Sanaa.

To these elements one should add an important point, which is that 'Ali Nasir was a statesman for 15 years, occupying the position of minister of defense, then prime minister, then combining the premiership and the presidency, and this has gained him real knowledge and understanding of international contradictions and struggles which will help him deal with them in the position of a figure exercising responsibility.

Through the radio station 'Ali Nasir has established in the north, he can play an important role engaging in agitation in the south, because his radio station can be heard in approximately all villages of South Yemen.

If we turn to tribal calculations, as a basic factor (alongside those mentioned above) in the formation of and struggle for power, we can say that 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, while present in the north, is in such constant contact with his domestic supporters via the Abyan area, home of Muhammad 'Ali Haytham, another one of the opposition members who also belong to Abyan, that the authorities in Aden have been prompted to say, "We rule Abyan by day and 'Ali Nasir rules it by night."

All these factors combined prompt us to say that 'Ali Nasir is the most influential force and that any attainment of common ground between him and the other opposition forces will strengthen this status.

However, it appears that such attainment of common ground seems almost out of the question in the current circumstances.

None of the internal objective and subjective factors of the opposition forces and the parties to the struggle can decide the situation in the south if there are no international circumstances which will assist such a resolution, especially with respect to the classification of regions of influence in the Horn of Africa.



It seems that the Soviet Union, which is present in Aden, is insisting on supporting the powers that be domestically more than at any time in the past, and through this insistence is thinking as a great power with a universal strategy and is concerned to have positions in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, specifically in Socotra. To that end it supports anyone who can give it that right, and not whoever is outside the country, even if is Lenin who has lost the battle.

There remains the subject of the presence of the basic forces opposed to the southern regime on northern territory. This subject is serious and sensitive, and imposes great responsibility on the northern regime. However, the north can find no way to avoid giving shelter to people in opposition, because the Yemeni constitution and Yemeni political traditions, even under Imam Ahmad Hamid-al-Din, have guaranteed anyone from the southern segment the right of citizenship and freedom to work. (The Yemeni Communists who were expelled from Cairo in the fifties sought refuge in Sanaa and Imam Ahmad could not abandon or expel them.)

It also appears that the existing authorities in Aden have not taken into consideration the tribal presence and its representation among the authorities, since the president, Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas, the prime minister and even the secretary general of the party, 'Ali Salim al-Bid, all belong to the Hadramawt area, while the other positions are distributed among Hadramawt's allies from the tribes of Lahij, al-Dali' and Yafi'.

Thus the Abyan region, the birthplace of the former president, 'Ali Nasir, and the Shibwah region are still not at all represented among the authorities, and this certainly is creating a great disruption in the balance in addition to the geographic disruption that results from these two regions, specifically, being in direct contact with the north, since 'Ali Nasir can use them as a base for a takeoff toward Aden if regional and international circumstances allow him military movement.

The future of Democratic Yemen, in the light of the complications the events of January of last year created, will remain obscure, if the officials in Aden do not try to return to and deal with actual conditions -- actual conditions which make a new objective view of the crisis in isolation from slogans and speeches mandatory for all officials.

Between these two, the unity of the two segments of Yemen remains the real salvation and major objective of the political enemies and brothers, and all the people of Yemen.

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CSO: 4404/399

## VARIOUS RESISTANCE LEADERS DISCUSS CURRENT SITUATION

## Provisional Government Formation Reviewed

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 5 May 87 pp 24, 25

[Text] News is coming in daily, bringing word of a new kind of operation that the Afghan fighting men are carrying out and showing that there is a new strategy which the fighting men are executing. In order to learn about the nature of the new action, the media committee of the Social Reform Society's committee of the appeal met with the great fighting man Prof Abd Rabborrosul Sayyaf, and held the following conversation with him:

[Question] It has been observed recently, following the cease fire, that the fighting men are generally moving their holy war over to a state of offensive. Is this an ongoing strategy or is it a stage for replying to the fraud of national reconciliation?

Sayyaf: In the name of God the all-merciful and most compassionate, thanks be to God and prayers and peace upon the prophet of God, his family and companions and those who have been led by his guidance: we expect and hope that it will be ongoing and we are trying to keep these offensives continuing, but as you know they were motivated by the severity of the fighting men's condemnation of the appeal which was directed by the Russians' agents in Afghanistan, and if this proves anything it proves that good awareness has taken form among these fighting men on international issues, especially their cause of holy war. Second, it proves that they have not become wearied by this fighting, which has continued a number of years, and third, they are not content with an alternative to Islam.

[Question] We have also seen that the Communists have not committed themselves to what they have declared, and, more than that, they have bombed the refugee camps inside Pakistani territory, which has caused great damage, including the killing of about 100 refugees and the wounding of another 300. What is the explanation of this mad rage on the part of the Communists?

Sayyaf: Communist history explains this. This is their religion. What comes from them emerges in accordance with what was expected, and not contrary to the expectations.

[Question] Kabul radio has constantly said that many of the refugees responded to the call for a cease fire and general amnesty. On the basis of your appraisal, what has been the extent of the refugees' response to this call?

Sayyaf: We can say that no one has responded to them, and while some people were received at the Afghan-Pakistani borders by agents and Russians, some of these people were spies for the government and returned after the termination of their mission, and some of them are smugglers who engage in commerce between Peshawar and Jalalabad. As to the people who are called "refugees," according to my knowledge none of those have gone back.

[Question] Nowadays discussions are taking place in Geneva regarding the Afghan issue. What are the latest developments in the situation with respect to the resolution of the Afghan issue?

Sayyaf: We are not in contact with what is going on in Geneva and our emissary is not present among the parties which are negotiating. The negotiations are taking place apart from our will and desire. Therefore, we do not know what is being discussed but in general as you know our answer has been frank and our position has been clear on these negotiations, and that is absolute rejection. We have stated in Kuwait that "any decision issued apart from our will and desire and any decision which does not include the attainment of all the goals for whose sake we have ventured into holy war, among them the immediate, total, unrestricted and unconditional expulsion of the Russians from Afghanistan, the elimination of all the traces of apostasy and atheism and the establishment of an upright Islamic government -- any decision which does not include this is to be rejected, and in addition to this we consider it a slap in the face of the freedom and independence of Afghanistan."

[Question] What about Mr Sebghatollah Mojaddadi's trip to Geneva?

Sayyaf: Our brother Sebghatollah Mojaddadi went there not to take part in the Geneva negotiations but to take part in another conference held annually under the title of "human rights." He went as a representative of the coalition in the human rights organization, and this has no connection with the negotiations now taking place on the issue of Afghanistan in Geneva.

[Question] Most political observers have offered the interpretation that the explosions which occurred in the Qamardin area in Peshawar last February, which had as their target a Mojahedin office and a school for Pakistani children, and the bombardment of refugee camps by Kabul's aircraft are connected to what is going on in Geneva. What is the real connection among these things, and what is the Pakistani government's position regarding the recent events?

Sayyaf: These incidents have a direct connection to the talks going on in Geneva, because the Russians want to put pressure on the Mojahedin to win this case and form pressure from the rank and file. Whenever the Geneva negotiating sessions are held, the Kabul government carries out violent hostile actions, especially in striking at the Pakistani borders, the populated areas and so forth.

[Question] How far has the temporary government Mr Mowlavi Mohammad Nabi, spokesman of the coalition, declared at the time progressed?

Sayyaf: This government's draft now is on the verge of being finished soon. We had assigned a committee to prepare a constitution and show the powers and means for forming such a government. This committee has recently concluded its activities. This draft will soon be presented to the organizations' command council and they will decide.

[Question] At the end of the conversation, we would like it if you gave us a clear idea about this temporary government in terms of its tasks and goals, and whether its location will be inside Afghanistan or outside.

Sayyaf: The temporary government is a government which will take charge of the administration of Afghanistan and will take charge of representing Afghanistan abroad and organizing its affairs domestically for the purpose of calming things down domestically and restoring life to its normal condition. This government will also prepare for the performance of general elections inside Afghanistan to elect a permanent Islamic government the Moslem people will find satisfactory.

[Question] Where will the headquarters of this temporary government be?

Sayyaf: Of course, it will be inside Afghanistan and it will exercise its authorities from within, preparatory to the establishment of the permanent Islamic government.

[Question] In conclusion, we beseech God that this government will be established to spread Islam throughout all areas of the country, and may God give you a good reward. Peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you.

#### Leader Disavows Cease Fire

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 26 May 86 pp 20, 21

[Text] From the province which sired Mahmud of Ghazni, the reforming conqueror of southeast Asia, came our brother the fighting man Samadyar, the commander of the Mojahedin of Ghazni Province, to solve the problems of some of his Mojahedin brothers. The committee of the appeal's media office took the opportunity of his presence here to hold the following conversation with him:

[Question] Who is our brother Samadyar?

[Answer] In the name of God the all-merciful, most compassionate, praise be to God and prayers and peace upon the prophet of God. After which: I am performing the task of the chairmanship of the central consultative assembly of the Ghazni Province fronts of the Islamic Party. In Daud's time I was an officer with the rank of first lieutenant, but since the Communist coup I have been with the Mojahedin, up to this day.

[Question] It is well known that the Russian forces are apportioned among seven main centers in Afghanistan, including Ghazni. How are these forces deployed within the province?



[Answer] The Russian forces are present in two main areas within the Province of Ghazni, first in the Nayut area and second within the town of Ghazni, in the environs of the airport and at the entrances to the town.

A number of them assume the form of patrols and guard centers, and these are accompanied by Afghan agents in all their movements, but, in spite of the proliferation of their patrols and guard centers, they do not feel secure. The Mojahedin's attacks on them are so constant that they have started to think of narrowing the area over which they are deployed and concentrating the guard and patrols, but such actions will not seriously affect the Mojahedin's movements.

As for the Russians' camp in the Dayyik area, the attack on it by the Mojahedin's Shatom front is continuous. The laying of mines by the Mojahedin has made much progress, and last month we destroyed 35 pieces of the enemy's equipment by mines.

As for the Mojahedin's assaults on the airport, these are effective and they occur repeatedly when the weather is unfit for flying, such as cloudy and rainy days. Effective operations include the destruction of the Ghazni Hotel situated on the main road (Kabul-Ghazni), in which the Communists and the Russians rest up.

[Question] What has the number of Russian forces in the province come to?

[Answer] They are close to 15,000 troops.

[Question] Would you be so generous as to talk about the different types of operations you are carrying out against the enemy? What is the extent of the effect of the aircraft against you?

[Answer] The Mojahedin's goal is to smash the Russian military machine, and we are working to achieve this goal. Therefore we rely on methods which will realize this goal for us, such as setting ambushes on roads over which passage by the enemy is expected, setting mines along their special routes and relying on electric mines in areas in which the enemy is expected to pass in addition to these.

We can launch a sudden attack by missiles on important centers such as the airport or some centers of hostile concentrations, especially convoys, when they are in movement. We receive reports on the enemy's losses through our "eyes" within his ranks.

We also set up ambushes for personnel and take them captive when they go to buy their evil requirements such as alcoholic beverages and narcotics.

One lovely situation is where sometimes the Russians go out to set up ambushes for the Mojahedin but the Mojahedin know about the matter and set up ambushes for the ambushes. In this case the enemy's losses are exorbitant.

[Question] What is the position of the Mojahedin in general on national reconciliation and the cease fire Najibollah declared awhile ago?



[Answer] The first natural reaction to the cease fire decree was the exchange of letters among the Mojahedin leaders and the readiness to make a practical response to this decree by launching strong assaults showing the enemy the truth of the Mojahedin's position.

Indeed, strong assaults and painful strikes were carried out against the Communists' ranks.

This by the grace of God reflects awareness and maturity on the part of all the Mojahedin, because everyone knows that the cease fire is a fraud which is aimed at sapping the glory and fighting zeal of the Mojahedin. Everyone knows also that the holy war is to realize a lofty goal, which is the establishment of an Islamic government or martyrdom, short of that.

[Question] What is the Mojahedin's position with respect to a political solution and formation of a coalition government?

[Answer] The Mojahedin are fighting to uplift God's word, and for the sake of that more than a million martyrs have met their death in combat. How, now that all this blood has been shed, can we agree to a political solution?

How can the men who destroyed the country, steeped it in the blood of innocent persons and destroyed all living things govern Afghanistan or be partners with others in governing it? The devout men who are working to rid Afghanistan of apostasy and Communism must govern this country, and it would be naive for us to allow others to reap the fruits of an effort which has lasted 7 years and of whose end God is the most aware.

Zaher Shah was not a Communist but he is the one who caused the Russians to come to the country and our first holy war was against him.

The Mojahedin will accept only a government of Mojahedin, even if it is temporary, after which elections will be held to choose the real representatives who will represent the Moslem people and those who must form the Islamic government.

[Question] With respect to the health situation among the Mojahedin and first aid for those Mojahedin who are wounded, how is this problem handled?

[Answer] The Mojahedin are preoccupied with their holy war day and night, but the problem of the scandalous shortage of health services affects them.

In reality we have some doctors who are Mojahedin in Ghazni, who come to six in number, in addition to modest amounts of medicines which we receive as aid from some Islamic organizations, but we have no health stations prepared to give proper first aid to wounded persons. As to the other stations, some time ago the French had a health center in which French men and women worked; the center was located in the Shajuy area inside the Shiite regions. However, it was bombed a short time ago by airplanes and the French withdrew, and the Mojahedin are now using the equipment which was left in the center. There are other centers belonging to the crusaders in Day Shuban in the Governorate of Zabol, but that is close to the borders of Ghazni, and there are a number of women in them.

We really are in urgent need of health support from the brothers. The basic point is that the Moslems should be the ones who take precedence in this area, not the Europeans.

[Question] Do you find that a big responsibility lies on the Moslems in this area, especially in the face of crusader infiltration domestically?

[Answer] We thank our Moslem brothers who have played their part in health and other areas toward the Islamic holy war in Afghanistan, and we ask them at the same time for greater support for this holy war, and ask the people who have not participated to do so, whatever the type of participation might be. The battle is between Islam alone and apostasy in all its forms and forces.

Wounded men are like drowning men who clutch at straws. They want someone to save them, no matter who the savior might be. In the face of the shortage in Islamic personnel there are other personnel. Therefore the responsibility of Moslem brethren to perform their duty and measure up to their responsibility is apparent. God is behind people's intentions.

In conclusion, may God give you a good reward. Peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you.

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CSO: 4604/28

## BRIEFS

KING RECEIVES TRANSPORT MINISTER--Kathmandu, June 23 KYODO--King Birendra of Nepal received in audience Japanese Minister of Transport Ryutaro Hashimoto at the Narayanhity Royal Palace Tuesday. Hashimoto, who is on a two-day official visit to Nepal, led the Japan side in talks held with Nepalese officials prior to the audience. Minister of State for Tourism and Social Welfare Ramesh Nath Pandey was at the head of the Nepal side during the talks. Asked about the discussions, Pandey said various aspects of bilateral relations, including a possible airlink between the two countries, were covered. Hashimoto also met Nepalese counterpart Hari Bahadur Basnet for talks. [Text] [Tokyo KYODO in English 1255 GMT 23 Jun 87] /8309

CSO: 4600/244

## WALI KHAN LAMBASTS AFGHAN POLICY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Jun 87 p 8

## [Text]

PESHAWAR, May 23: ANP President Khan Abdul Wali Khan has asked the Pakistan Government to stop interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs as it was risking the country's solidarity by pursuing a reckless foreign policy.

In a question-answer session with ANP workers in Waray during his recent four-day tour of the Dir District, he contended that Pakistan's borders were insecure and the people felt unsafe due to Islamabad's flawed Afghan policy. He maintained that the United States, Pakistan Government and Jamaat-i-Islami did not want the Afghan dispute to be resolved as they all had their own axe to grind. Wali Khan lashed out at the J.I for calling the Afghan war as a 'Jihad' and recalled that its founder Maulana Maudoodi had earlier refused to endorse the battle in Kashmir with India as a Jihad.

The ANP leader argued that it was impossible to evict the Soviets from Afghanistan militarily even if the Americans directly involved themselves in the war.

Terming it as a war being fought for the interests of the United States and the Soviet Union he said Pakistan should not expose itself to harm for an alien cause. He alleged that the U.S was providing Pakistan with AWACS to mount spying operations in the region which would certainly displease neighbouring states like the Soviet Union, India, Afghanistan, China and Iran.

Wali Khan refuted the contention that he and colleagues in NAP were released from the Hyderabad jail on Gen. Ziaul Haq's orders and claimed that they were freed by the special tribunal as it could prove nothing against them.

Wali Khan felt the rulers of Pakistan were not sincere in enforcing an Islamic system in the country as it threatened their rule and the perks of power to which they had become accustomed. He said the Government and certain political parties were talking Islam only to exploit religion either to win power or perpetuate their rule. Wali Khan was accompanied during his Dir visit by ANP leader Heji Ghulam Ahmad Bilour.

/9274

CSO: 4600/242

## SHARIAT BILL CALLED FORERUNNER TO AUTHORITARIAN REGIME

Karachi JANG in Urdu 9 May 87 p 3,8

[Article by Prof. Waris Mir: "The Shariat Bill and the Present Parliament"]

[Text] There is a basic question: "Who should decide who is pro and who is anti Islam when a new bill is being discussed?" The poet Iqbal has given the answer to it and all educated people know it. He believes that in modern times an elected parliament should have the last word on interpretation of the Islamic law after consultation with religious leaders. However, we would like to ask as we strive to have a new political structure in Pakistan, what kind of elected parliament should interpret our religious laws? A parliament composed of the privileged class or a parliament formed following democratic principles? Can we allow a parliament that was formed because many influential political groups had chosen to boycott the elections to discuss our religious laws? The future of the Shariat Bill passed by the Parliament will always be in danger. Will the kind of Islamic rule approved by this group survive in a parliament formed with full participation of political parties? Will not all this be detrimental to the political future of Islamic ideology? Cannot a parliament declare this regime illegal because landownership is considered against Islamic teachings and 90 percent of the incumbent members of the National Parliament were elected because of their ill-gotten money, landownership, and influence? Such a parliament just cannot do anything to help the downtrodden citizens of the country because its members have serious conflict of interest. Pakistani economy is neither capitalistic nor purely agricultural. Pakistani and foreign "brains" have established a government here which is run mostly by the Military and the bureaucracy. Neither of these two groups is interested in helping take off the "steel cap" forced on the people by the Eighth amendment. The mood and the political future of Pakistani democracy will not change as long as we have the status quo in the structure involving the military, landlords, capitalists, bureaucrats, and the Western interests. Whenever there will be elections under the present system, only landlords and capitalists capable of buying votes will get elected. Can the members of such assemblies declare landownership anti-Islamic? Therefore, I am not wrong to say that we need a real revolution and a popular movement to have a real democratic parliamentary system in this country. How will such a revolution happen and who will lead this movement? This question is very difficult for all of us to answer. At present the nation should treat this



Shariat bill as a warning signal. What are the constitutional, moral, social, and religious implications of this "private" Shariat bill being passed by a parliament elected on a non-party basis? They have tagged the word "shariat" to this bill and people consider this word more powerful than the word "law." The political benefits from this Shariat bill are similar to those reaped from the Referendum issued in the name of Islam. How can the Parliament which approved the Eighth amendment and all the martial law ordinances repeal the privileges issued by the referendum? This parliament is already very weak and its prime minister is being supported by the ordinance passed by its president!

This parliament after approving the "private Shariat bill" will lose whatever freedom it has now. This bill will give superiority to a federal Shariat court over this elected parliament and the constitution. The government will announce the establishment of a "real Shariat government." Actually all powers of the parliament will be transferred to a group that will be responsible for appointing these religious judges. Thus, the parliament will lose its role as the law making body in the name of the Koran, Shariat, and other Islamic religious practices. These courts will be in a big pandemonium. We are aware of the kind of justice meted out by some of our high courts in the past. The record of some of our courts in protecting civil liberties has been very good, but they have been helpless in implementing the constitution. Some decisions on political and religious cases handed out by our courts to please the military rulers are part of our legal history. For example, a religious court was subjected to excessive criticism when it declared Rajam [stoning to death] against Islam. The judge was sent on "vacation" and this decision was revoked under new administration by the same court! Another important religious issue was still under consideration by this court. The chief justice of the court was abroad and was appointed an advisor in the ministry of religious affairs during his absence. The government needed to pass another law which now is a part of our constitution. This law allows the president to give other responsibilities to the chief justice of the Shariat court. This court passed some very unacceptable laws to help the government. These law, however, proved ineffective due to some legalities involved. This court also passed some good laws. It declared the Press and Publication Ordinance against Islam, required the government to provide similar benefits to the members of Pakistan's armed forces as given to the civil service employees, and amended the Army Act. The government appealed against these decisions and also made up a law which declared the decisions issued by the court ineffective from the date of the appeal. It appears that the Shariat Bill is being used to transfer control of the government into the hands of a few leaders instead of trying to give new interpretation to various Islamic edicts. There is no room for agreement on new Islamic rules in this bill. Some of the clauses in this bill has been changed because of strong opposition expressed by some groups. There is less chance of declaring the old Islamic jurisprudence as sacred and unchangeable. However there are still dangers of political abuse. This bill will provide a permanent political refuge to the present regime and our younger generation will become even more wary of the word Shariat. We all know what happened to some Islamic laws, especially those requiring one-third and one-tenth income taxes. They have started all kinds of corrupt practices in the name of Islam. The Territory Ordinance resulted in several incidents of female harassment. Victims of sexual molestation were declared criminals by the courts and the

accused men were released honorably! It is doubtful that any amendment, especially the one declaring "two woman equal to one man," is being practiced in any court. The Islamic laws have become part of law books, but they are not being used in making decisions by the courts. At times decisions passed out by the courts are not followed. They are still honoring the old system which allows a man to testify against a woman, but a woman is not allowed to testify against a man. A Muslim can testify against a non-Muslim while the non-Muslim is not allowed the same privilege. If Shariat is the name of curbing freedom of speech, stopping endeavors for new changes, scrapping new ideas, and economic and social injustice, then we need God's help! If this Shariat bill is being used to strengthen the one-party system, the semi-military regime, and the neo-colonialism, then this bill is being passed by the enemies of Islam.

A close review of various clauses of this private bill indicates that it does not have even one word that addresses the problems faced by the people or suggests ways to change the present colonial-type regime. It has made it clear that as the result of this movement to Islamize our country, qualified women and members of other minorities will not be allowed to hold office in courts. Several clauses in this bill use romantic and technical vocabularies to muddle the issues. A Qazi [religious judge] or an appointed judge in the Federal Shariat Court forced by some constitutional "vacuum" can declare the constitution against Islam. They might declare political parties, their participation in elections, political leaders, and program of a political party NRI-Pakistan and anti-Islamic. They might even put an end to the basic rights provided by the constitution. We have many examples in the history of Islam where Qazis made similar decisions to help despotic kings. We have no alternative but to call implementation of an oligarchy in the name of Islam a theocracy, Fundamentalism or even anti-Islamic and anti-national. Fundamentalists believe in incontrovertible prophecy and want to back to the "foundation" of religion. Actually they go back to totalitarianism. They give more importance to authority than to the soul and believe regressing toward the past important for preservation of Islam. We know well that this philosophy is impractical and is being used to concentrate power in the hands of few people and then attack the federation of Pakistan and the political system that upholds federalism. The federalism that has been hiding in leaves of some books and has given way to the animalistic behavior demonstrated by various groups, will be totally annihilated with the help of this Shariat bill. The country's unity will be destroyed totally. One wonders if another imperialist power has started a conspiracy to start another massacre. Where was this authoritarianism for the last 8 years of martial law regime? Islam considers timely needs of the people as the highest priority of the rulers. God also favors it. Needs of people at a given time dictate Divine action. Authoritarians hide behind imaginary and well-liked slogans. They play on popular emotions and avoid looking into distant future fearing they might see the truth that might help reduce their feelings of bigotry. They sit in the shade of past memories and do not want to fight any battles. They want to stay without water instead of becoming an ocean. Their boast about the past actually is a way of expressing their fears. They use religion as scary thing to rule the people. They are not aware of the spiritual and philosophical part of religions than make man think, create, and at time show the light to the whole human race.

## ANP LEADER PALEJO ON SIND NATIONALISM, MOHAJIRS, AFGHANISTAN

Karachi JANG in Urdu 18 Mar 87 Supp'ement pp 6-7, 9

[Interview with Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Awami National Party leader, by Jang panel; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Question: Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, we from the JANG forum welcome you and your friends. In connection with your treatment, you spent considerable time in Europe. We are grateful that on your return from Europe you accepted an invitation from JANG first of all. In an interview granted to JANG in Karachi last year, you said that if elections were not held by the end of 1986, things would go wrong. The year 1986 has passed without elections. Now in what respect do you think that the situation has taken a turn for the worse?

Answer: I want to thank for giving me this opportunity to present my view to the readers of JANG. In a way the worsening of conditions is right before you. We are part of a very big party; after the People's Party, the Awami National Party [ANP] is the largest. Yet we do not get even two lines in the newspapers of the country. In contrast, those who issue threats to the newspapers get their views published. In my opinion, there cannot be anything worse than this. Law and justice have completely disappeared. Might is right. All public opinion is at the mercy of naked force. Previously such brute force was exercised at a very high level, but now it has descended to the common level. In every street and in every alley, there is the politics of brute force. One needs a demonstration of 10,000 persons to get an SHO [Station House Officer, a public official] transferred. One will need to take out another procession in order to get the assistant SHO transferred. There is lawlessness in every sphere of the nation.

Last year I predicted that the country would come to harm. Now you, can see how many people have been murdered in the country. It is said that Karachi will become another Beirut. I say that Karachi has become a Beirut.

The people of Sind say that this area has been Sind for the last 5,000 years. But people are fighting with one another in a bid to control Sind. One person says that Sind belongs to him, and another says it is his. The owners of the house are nowhere in the picture, but outsiders toting kalashnikovs are fighting with one another.

It appears that the rulers are powerless. They are at their wits' end. I believe the rulers are working on the basis of a policy wherein the masses will cry out for a protector. This is a deliberate conspiracy. What happened in East Pakistan? People killed the speaker of the assembly in the assembly. The rulers called this lawlessness and they dismissed the administration.

It appears now that the country is deliberately being set afire so that martial law can be imposed. A very dangerous mind is working in such a way as to render ineffective those working for democracy, and very cleverly and very craftily, the ground is being prepared for martial law.

Question: You may consider that if we repeatedly ask you the same kind of questions, we are provoking you. But I have to ask you one specific question. There are sharp differences among the organizations working in Sind. Despite these differences, they have one thing in common: they are all agreed on opposition to you. Why is this so?

Answer: I believe that the Sind people hold us in great respect. You may have seen a demonstration of this in Rahuki. I am not feeling well, but I receive invitations from all over Sind. Several bar associations have invited me to speak. People have boundless affection for us. For the last 10 years I have not had the opportunity to meet the people. I was arrested in 1976, released for a few months, and arrested again. This process of arrest and release continued. Once it happened that my release was ordered by the High Court, but I was rearrested only 2 days later. When one remains out of touch with the public for so many years, one is forgotten, and this is exactly what the rulers want--that the Sind people should forget me. But the people have not forgotten me; they have boundless affection for us.

It is noteworthy that on the one hand the government held us in jail so that we could not meet the people while, on the other hand it sent out agents to carry out character assassination against us, to wage psychological warfare against us. The reason for the government's unhappiness with us is that we took part in the struggle for democracy. We also played a role in the journalists' struggle. The split off half of our party on the psychological grounds that the 'haris', i.e., farm laborers have no business fighting alongside the "Punjabi" and "refugee" journalists. The government agents buried Mohammad Sadiq, the elder son of Fazil Rahu, in a grave up to his neck. They threatened to throw another spadeful of earth over him if he did not tell where he got the money to take part in the journalists' struggle. There is a long list of such incidents of oppression. Covertly they spread the propaganda that in the journalists' movement, Palejo was getting Sindis killed. In fact, the elder son of Fazil Rahu, was killed in a stage-managed incident. Thus when we play a role in the struggle for democracy, the government agents wage against us a terrible war of character assassination. They make us the target every time. Sometimes they wage a war of character assassination against the People's Party, and they make targets of us simple and unpretentious folks. They conduct propaganda against us from every direction and on any kind of pretext. Day in and day out, the Jamaat-Islami press



declares that we are terrible people and murderers, but our point of view is not published anywhere. We have no means of refutation. How can a man in Jail refute allegations levied against him?

It is business of government agents in the Jamat to levy charges against us 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. But you should go to the rural areas. I have not yet been able to get in touch with the people, but still they love us.

Question: Recently, the Geneva talks on the Afghanistan issue were suspended for a brief period. How optimistic are you about these talks?

Answer: I believe that our rulers have got themselves into a difficulty. America has raised the bogey of the atomic bomb in order to deny aid to us. America deliberately raised this issue in order to pressure Pakistan. In my opinion, our ruling class realizes to some extent that the matter is very dangerous. Our rulers are in a state of civil war with the people of Pakistan, soldiers have been massed on the Indian border, there is tension with Afghanistan, and relations with the Soviet Union are strained.

In 1965, during the war with India, even a field marshal like Ayub Khan became powerless. But now the situation has gotten far worse. Now the problems cannot be resolved merely by boisterous laughter. International problems cannot be solved by laughingly taking risks on the international level.

Now the rulers have come to realize that the adventure they risked has assumed dangerous proportions. Now American has started blackmailing them. Pakistan's foreign policy is no longer in the hands of its rulers.

Question: Then, what is the solution to this problem?

Answer: There is no such thing as the Afghanistan problem. Revolutions occur every day. There was a revolution in China. You should have gotten involved there. In South Yemen there was revolution. Revolutions do occur. Revolutions will occur everywhere. Does this mean that wherever there is revolution, you will intervene there? In Afghanistan, there has been a system of slavery for thousands of years, there was tribalism, the people were terribly oppressed. Now they are coming out of darkness. Revolution had to occur there. We interfered in their affairs. We are getting involved in quarrels with everyone. The solution to the problem is that we should leave others alone. We should stop letting anyone use Pakistani soil to commit crimes against Afghanistan. You say that there should be direct talks. I ask why there should be any talks. You just stop interfering there. All disputes will end. If I throw stones at someone's house, the solution to the problem is that I should stop throwing stones. Khan Abdul Wali Khan says there should be talks. I say there is no need for talks. Stop the mischief; the quarrel will end.

Question: You say there has been a revolution in Afghanistan. When one-third of the population leaves home and hearth and migrates to foreign



lands, that is not the way of revolutions. Besides, foreign troops are stationed there. In a revolution, does a big portion of the population flee?

Answer: People from Bangladesh fled to India. India also argued that people in vast numbers had migrated there. Our government did not accept this argument. We have nothing to do with the events in Afghanistan. Shall we permit India to argue that since the Pakistani rulers impose martial law and promise elections to the masses but do not hold them, therefore it should interfere in our internal affairs? We commit fraud in the name of Islam. Indians commit fraud in the name of unity. Can India be permitted to argue that since at one time it was all one country, therefore it cannot tolerate the events here and it is setting up camps for refugees. America used to bomb North Vietnam. Do we want Afghanistan to bomb us? Is it in the interest of Pakistan that we saddle ourselves with the problems of so many people? We do not have enough to feed ourselves, so how shall we feed so many people? Why should we spend money on war? Why do we need such a huge army? Why should we spend 70 percent of our budget on guarding ourselves?

Afghanistan is a neighboring country. There has been a revolution there. They have their own problems. How far will you go on intervening?

You know what America did in Vietnam. After getting countless people killed in Vietnam, America fled. When imperialism flees from a place, it does not even look behind. You may have seen pictures during the last days of the Vietnam war. American collaborators were trying to climb onto the helicopters, but the Americans shook them off and left. Wherever revolution arrives, the generals there seek shelter in America. General Thieu, too, is having a good time there.

I was making a speech at the University of California in America. An Afghan representative came there. Someone told me that he was the permanent representative of Afghanistan. He had a talk with me. I asked him what he was doing. He said he was a professor there and that he earned a higher salary there than in Afghanistan.

Question: You claim that the ANP is a popular political party throughout the country. But the common opinion is that it is a regional party and that the parties that merged into the ANP are functioning under their own names. What would you say to that?

Answer: You have raised a very good question. What are regional parties? What is the connotation of region? In fact, it is commonly understood that any party that does not represent Karachi or Punjab is thought to be a regional party. A man from a small lane in Lalokhet lives in Karachi and becomes the representative of an international movement. In every newspaper he is accepted as the representative of an international movement, even though he may not have a following of even two persons. Parties with a handful of members are national parties. Our party has hundreds of thousands, even millions of people, but it turns out to be a regional party because we are not limited to Karachi and Lahore. We represent the majority of people living in the rural areas of Pakistan. We are proud that we are a regional party and not a city party.

There is another point I would like to make, and that is that anyone who does not talk about the Thar famine has no right to call himself a national leader. There is a famine in Attock, but nobody talks about it. The Sind people gave their lives for such a noble cause as democracy. But nobody gave even a couple of rupees in aid. We do not recognize as national parties those that are unaware of the problems of most of the Pakistani masses. How can we recognize parties that do not talk about 90 percent of the population?

Question: You merged the Awami Tehrik into the ANP, but its other organizations --the Sind Students Movement, the Sind Hari Tehrik and the Sind Mazdoor Tehrik-- are still in existence. Why did they not merge into the ANP?

Answer: None of these organizations is subordinate to the Awami Tehrik. All of these are independent bodies in their own right. Our points of view and beliefs are close, but they were never under our discipline.

Question: In the context of unity, you wrote in an article that one's identity should not be lost as a result of merging in a party.

Answer: I was not talking of merging in a party. Rather I was speaking of a united front. What I said was that when we join a front, we should not forget our roots. I was not talking in the context of any party.

Question: Out of the parties that merged in the ANP, the NDP, the PNP and the Mazdoor Kisan Party are continuing to do political business under their real names one way or the other. Only the Awami Tehrik completely merged in it, and seasoned politicians are predicting the breakup of the ANP. What is your point of view on this?

Answer: The ANP will always face problems. Every living party faces problems. It should keep on solving its problems all the time. We do not claim that all the masses of the country are with us. Nor do we claim to have no problems. We realize that like every living institution, we too have problems, but I believe that there is no bigger party than the ANP representing the different classes and points of view in Pakistan. We have a mixed leadership, with no single group dominating it. It is not dominated by any nationality or any class. There are other multiclass parties, but their leadership is in the hands of a particular class or a particular individual. That is not so in our party. It is the only party in Pakistan wherein the constitution allows every province the right to unite with other provinces in order to solve its problems.

Question: In your constitution, do you use the term "province" or "units"?

Answer: We used the term "national units." Our party has recognized the Saraiki nationality. Our party believes that the Saraiki region belongs to the Saraiki people. Nations do not come into existence as a result of recognition by anybody. Nations have their own historical area. The people who are called Saraiki have been inhabiting this area for the last 5,000 years. Because historically the Saraiki people have their own area, our party considered that those people who have their own area and their distinct problems should be recognized as separate national units.

Question: What is your opinion about Urdu nationalism in Sind?

Answer: There can be no such thing as Urdu nationality.

Question: You may call it mohajir nationality or Urdu nationality.

Answer: The problem with mohajir nationality is that when someone remains a mohajir even after 40 years, this means that Pakistan does not suit him. A person may go to an area and blend in there and that is the end of the issue. The United Nations has set up a commission for those who are mohajirs even after 40 years. Those who have not been able to settle in Pakistan by now and those who are still mohajirs should get into touch with the United Nations. People who do not regard Pakistan as their country and call themselves mohajirs should be settled throughout the Muslim countries.

Question: We are not talking of the country. They call themselves a nationality.

Answer: We are talking of mohajirs. The question of nationality will come later.

Question: Mohajirs consider themselves a nation.

Answer: They will become a nation when they are no longer mohajirs. When one is a mohajir even after 40 years, it means that this land does not suit him.

Question: When Altaf Hussain attended a JANG forum, we told him that emigration is an action, and anyone who goes through it will not become a nation. In answer, he cited a reference from the Koran and said that he was using the term "mohajir" for the sake of distinction. The conversation here, he said, was about the Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathan and Baluch nations. Talk of a mohajir nation was in contradiction to these other nations. What is your opinion?

Answer: Pakistanis go from here to Britain. Do they use the term "Pakistani British" there? Every British person is British. After coming here, you are either a Pakistani or you are not a Pakistani. If you are a Pakistani, you cannot be a mohajir.

Let us suppose Pakistanis go from here to Arabia. Merely talking about a nation will not get them a land. Nationhood grows out of an area.

Question: Our nationhood is with reference to Pakistan. But now the question of nations on the basis of regions has come up and the concept of a Pakistani nation has receded into the background; we have become fragmented into different units. At first there was talk of a mohajir nation, but now we have become fragmented into different units. At first there was talk of a mohajir nation, but now we have here a Punjabi Pakhtoon Front. This trend is harmful to the country. In this connection, what are your suggestions to improve the situation?

Answer: Our thinking in this connection is that when Pakistan came into being, the Sindhi people were the most eager about it. I do not say that Sindhis made the greatest sacrifices. But the Muslims here were the most eager for the formation of Pakistan. There was a referendum in the Frontier. In Baluchistan the Shahi Jirga made the decision, and in the Punjab there was rule of the Unionist Party till the end. Overnight they decided to become patriots.

Nowhere it is mentioned in the Pakistan Resolution that following the formation of Pakistan, any nation would be deprived of its country, would be reduced to a minority or that the people of any province would be enslaved.

After the formation of Pakistan, Urdu-speaking people moved here. The Sindhi people consider that an Urdu-speaking bureaucracy invaded this area. By a conspiracy, Karachi was snatched from us. By spouting slogans, you cannot make people your property. I was in Europe. I delivered a lecture at a university there. One person repeatedly referred to Islam. I said to him, out of the four rooms in your house, will you give me one in the name of Islam? He fell silent. We have not consented to the way in which things are being distributed in Karachi.

By establishing One Unit [1950's legislation making all of West Pakistan a single entity], the Punjab bureaucracy constituted a land utilization board and the officials divided the land among themselves. Sindhis were driven out of Karachi. The most backward areas of Karachi are those of Sindhis. Look at Lyari. What are the conditions there? The waderas do not say anything about the situation. The Sind people have seen through the waderas; they know that the waderas have always betrayed the cause of Sindhis.

After the formation of Pakistan, officials passed black laws with the help of which they gobbled up Sind lands. The lands of Sindhis were illegally transferred to the names of Hindus. The government machinery from top to bottom was non-Sindhi. The person who filed the claim was non-Sindhi, he who verified it was a non-Sindhi, he who approved the case was a non-Sindhi, the official who heard the appeal was a non-Sindhi and the official who entertained the second appeal was a non-Sindhi. In short, everyone was a non-Sindhi. Even the ministers were non-Sindhis. Thus they prevailed in Sind.

People have long memories. They have not forgotten these things. During the time of One Unit, the Punjab bureaucracy and the Urdu-speaking officials together got the Punjabi Pathan Mohajir Front created against the Sindhis. Our youth fought against the One Unit and threw brickbats at them. Trainloads of people from Karachi came to Hyderabad and thrust daggers into those Sindhi youth protesting for their rights. Thus the process of rubbing salt into our wounds went on. They functioned as lackeys of dictatorship. They joined in every act of oppression against Sind. Whenever we are oppressed, they cheer. Bhutto is hanged, they cheer. Dictatorship comes, they cheer. They performed the same role in Bangladesh. There they created organizations such as Alshams and Albadar, and everywhere they played an antipeople and reactionary role.



After the Prophet and his associates, no one else has the right to call himself mohajir. With the exception of the Prophet and his associates, for anyone to use the term mohajir is misleading and arrogant. Using the Koran reference in this context is incorrect. Whenever a dictator comes, our brothers join him, and when he is about to depart, they come out against him. The present rulers have been in power for a long time, and now these people will become revolutionaries, although I have a feeling that the rulers will once again impose martial law.

If the sacrifices that are now being made had been made during the struggle for democracy, could martial law have survived? If the friends here had not joined the Punjab bureaucracy in supporting One Unit, could One Unit have remained intact? Here the One Unit was eulogized. Now they say that overnight they have become a nation. These things are being said in order to provoke the Sindhi people.

Question: Respected Sindhi leader Aresar says that he is willing to work under mohajir leadership.

Answer: Sindhi waderas perpetrated worse excesses than the Urdu-speaking people. This is because they were closer to the rulers. It was the duty of the waderas of Sind not to become traitors. But in Sind, the slogan of a fifth nation is being raised to the detriment of the people.

Whatever our Sindhi friends are saying is irrelevant to us. They are nonchalant. We are not talking of them. We do not blame them.

We want the basic character of Pujabis to be Punjabi, the Frontier character to be Pathan, and the basic character, identity, and basic status of Sindhis to be Sindhi. We believe that the attempt to declare Sindhis a minority is unfair and illegal.

Question: Don't you believe in democracy?

Answer: No, Sir! I don't. If seven people come and occupy your property, should you accept it? If 10 million people occupy land which has been mine for thousands of years, should I acquiesce in it? We do not recognize the rights of those who work against the Sindhi people.

As to those who are loyal to the Sindhi masses, those who do not rub salt into our wounds, those who accept Sind as the land of Sindhi people, and those who want to be brotherly to us, we do not feel any difference between them and ourselves.

Question: Even those who are considered original Sindhi people came from outside.

Answer: I am here. My ancestors have been living here for 5,000 years. Why did you drive out the British?

Question: We are talking about your point of view on nationhood.



Answer: It is not a point of view. It is a plain fact. This is my land. This is my glass. What has it to do with any point of view? If I say that this coat is mine, it appears a theory to you. If I say that this is a JANG office, what kind of theory does it involve? It is obvious fact.

Question: In your Rahuki speech, you said that you were willing to sit down and talk with the Urdu-speaking brothers. To which party among them you would like to talk? And on what point?

Answer: The talking point is that Sind should be considered as belonging to Sindhis. The other point is that if you bring in 10 million people from outside, we will not accept it. You mass here people from Bihar, Bangladesh and Afghanistan and claim that you are in the majority, and then you propose that we should now talk of democracy. This will not do. I do not recognize a democracy in which my land should become your property.

We can talk to good and loyal people. First of all, the entry of foreigners should be stopped completely. It should be absolutely out of the question for Biharis to come here. We think that this step is anti-Sindhi. Those living in Bangladesh are Bangladeshis. It is not proper for you to get a country and then leave it. You accepted this country for yourself. Then you worked against the local people. Now you say that you are stranded. Later you will say: we are stranded in Sind, take us to Punjab. Then you will say: we are stranded in Punjab, take us to Arabia. Then: we are stranded in Arabia, take us to Iraq. Bangladesh is the country, and you remain there. God gave them an opportunity. They should live there.

The Sindhi people will not forgive those leaders who say: bring people from wherever you please and settle them here.

No one should come here from Burma. We oppose the opening of the Khokharapar border. People who come here from there discard their passports and settle here. This kind of traffic from India should be stopped. Similarly, there should be a restriction on the settlement here of people from other provinces. Karachi cannot take any more.

Question: Because there is industry here, how can you stop people from coming here?

Answer: Take away these industries. We don't want these industries. By reducing defense expenditure, industries should be set up in Punjab. More funds should be obtained from the center government and industries should be set up in Punjab. We are prepared to give money from our own budget. We want millions of rupees to be given for setting up industries in Punjab and the Frontier. On the pretext of industries, steps are being taken here to make the Sindhis into a minority. We do not want plants that will obliterate our existence. There is a Sindhi verse which says: Over my shoulder, my shirt is torn; My head is bare; What is there for me here?

What is the good of such plants in which not a single Sindhi can get a job?

Question: Karachi has a port, too.

Answer: The port is ours. We did not create the sea overnight. Let me make one thing clear. We have no quarrel with the language. If there are 50 languages in the country, each should progress. Every person should receive education in his mother tongue. Every civilization and every society should flourish. The study of Urdu should continue.

Question: Jam Saqi said in a JANG forum that Sindhis have complaints against the same institution about which Punjabis have complaints. They have no complaint against the Punjabi people. What is your view?

Answer: I will not talk about any other person. I will talk about myself. As a rule, when I talk to Punjabis, I talk about the excesses of Punjab. Other people act differently. They complain about Punjabis to the Urdu-speaking people and they complain about Urdu-speaking people to the Punjabis.

I appealed to Punjabi friends, saying that if they desire friendship and unity among the provinces, they should stop supporting occupation. We do not covet even a single blade of Punjabi grass. We do not want the job of a single peon. Similarly, you should not come here and take away our people's jobs.

I am convinced that for the good of the majority of Punjabis, for the sake of Pakistan's survival, they should not take away the rights of other provinces. We do not at all accept people from Punjab who have settled here as representatives of Punjab. Their interests are in conflict with the broad interests of the vast majority of the people of Punjab.

In the interest of the vast majority of Urdu-speaking people, they should stop supporting dictatorship and they should start living with the Sindhi people like brothers.

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## JATOI EXPRESSES OPINIONS ON VARIOUS NATIONAL ISSUES

Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 24 Apr-3 May 87 pp 8-13

[Interview with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi by Asif Bhalli; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] My first question is: Are you satisfied with the organization and the progress made by the National People's Party [NPP]?

[Answer] The NPP was born on 1 September after the Lahore convention. By the Grace of God, we have accomplished a lot during the last 5 months. There seems to be God's hand in it, because we have received wonderful cooperation from people. You have witnessed their trust and cooperation yourself. More than 100,000 people participated in our convention held at Nawabshah on 30 October. Similarly, our meeting in Gujranwala was also very successful. The NPP was barely 4 months old when we had the Gujranwala meeting. Such cooperation and support from the people within 4 months of our party's birth is a great thing. I do not think there is another political party in this subcontinent that can hold such large rallies within 4 months of its inception. I am but one person, but my associates worked hard and God helped us. I am very pleased with the results.

[Question] What are the ideological differences between the NPP and the PPP?

[Answer] We are very different. One is left and the other is right [wing]. The leadership is also different. The attitude, dealing with workers, political approach, and the program itself are very different. I do not know what they think of themselves, but we are the first to offer the idea of a welfare state.

[Question] Mr Jatoi, did you ever think that the establishment of the NPP has weakened the PPP and strengthened Zia's government?

[Answer] We did not join General Zia and I do not think we have strengthened him. He will become stronger if one part of the PPP joins him. You know that it did not happen. We are still working against General Zia as we did in the past. I agree that the PPP has become weaker after the NPP was established. That is natural. I do not think that General Zia has benefited in anyway. He

was helped by other groups, though. You are aware that several political parties were born. These parties will not be able to win even a single seat in the Assembly. I do not want to refer to any specific party here. Such parties will disappear if the democratic process continues here, because the elections are the best method for screening these out. The NPP is the first political party to absorb two or three other parties in it. Thus, we have reduced instead of increasing the number of political parties.

[Question] Mr Jatoi, Benazir said in an interview that General Zia has "stolen" several "Jatois" and that she was going to defeat General Zia along with all these Jatois. How do you view Benazir's declaration?

[Answer] This all shows her frustration and immaturity. No one has stolen anyone. I can also say that Benazir, who is like my daughter, has been stolen by some generals, her own desires, and the present leadership in the PPP. She was talking about the autumn [as deadline to confront the government] and the autumn has long gone. What has she done? She herself has announced that her party will not do anything against the government until the month of March or April. I can say that the government has "stolen" Benazir. I have never done anything for General Zia and never will. We have not done anything for the Junejo government. We never even recognized it while she has formally recognized it. She has been bought since she has announced that she would not do anything against this government until April or May. What I mean is that she has been supporting this government one way or another. We have not done anything like that. She has been stolen from the democratic forces and is playing the role of government's 'B' team. The people will decide themselves if she is playing as the 'B' team of the government or not.

[Question] Mr Jatoi, we would like to hear your analysis of the present critical situation in the country.

[Answer] There are many problems in this country due to the long tenure of the martial law regime. We all agree that the lava erupts when a martial law ends. The present problems have resulted from the martial law. We never had it so bad in our country before. People are not safe in cities or villages. Neither the rich nor the poor feel secure. The present situation of dishonesty and graft was never experienced before. I would call it open loot because bribery in the past was almost negligible. Now, it is being practiced in every sphere of life. You have to look very hard to find an honest official or a minister. We can just say that it is dark everywhere. Everyone is corrupt and it is hard to find an honest person. Look at our legislative assemblies. There is unrest there too. These people have been forced to work together. Political parties were not involved in the establishment of these assemblies. These were not established as a result of a mandate, therefore, it is hard to keep them united. As I said before, it would be interesting to see what happens if they repeal the illegal bill about floor crossing. Junejo just cannot keep them together. You know well what is happening in the external affairs. The situation on our borders is getting worse every day. This government has failed on every front. Mr Junejo is a nice person and I have nothing against him. If any other person was prime minister now, he would be facing a similar situation. I am not opposing Mr Junejo; I am opposing the present government. Whatever is happening because of this government just cannot be avoided and

this very government has forced our nation into these crises. The problems will keep getting worse until we change this government. Dangers will continue to increase.

[Question] What is your suggestion to alleviate the present situation?

[Answer] The only solution is holding elections. If I had vested interests, I would suggest that we hold elections in 2 years because our party is only 5 months old. The country needs elections now. New leaders will emerge and each party will have an opportunity to explain its program to the people. The party which wins the people's trust will win. The National Assembly would be better organized and much stronger because it will have the people's support. The new members will work with zeal because they will be aware of the people's trust in them and their program. The people will cooperate with them. No government can succeed without the cooperation of the masses.

[Question] Mr Jatoi, you have often said that a large number of elected assemblies would join the NPP if the law about "floor crossing" is repealed. Please comment on it.

[Answer] Not all people will join us, but a sizeable number will join this party because they like our program and the leadership. There are several of our associates there who want to join the NPP.

[Question] Even if the "floor crossing" law is repealed and these people join your party, the present system still will not change. What will you do about it?

[Answer] That is why I have said that everyone is trying to scare Junejo. I am neither a member of this assembly nor I want to be. I do not want to be a part of this administration. People are trying to scare Junejo using my name. I had decided to boycott the elections on my own. Had I participated in the elections, things would have been different now. What reason do I have now to sit in the assembly?

[Question] Let me rephrase my question. You are the only person with a large support in the National Assembly. If you ask the members of the National Assembly and the Senate to resign, you can force the present government to hold new elections. Would not their mass resignations pave way for holding new elections?

[Answer] My associates support the idea of having new elections. However, I do not want to ask them to make sacrifices. They were not elected on my order and I do not have the right to ask them to resign. They want to join my party in the future because they like our program. I do not want to ask them to resign. They support the issue of new elections that is why they want to join my party.

[Question] Why do you think the political parties failed to form a coalition to pull our nation out of this critical situation and solve the serious problems the country is facing?



[Answer] I had proposed this idea and Mr Noorani is working on it. I wanted someone else to work on it because anything I do is viewed with suspicion. For example, a Karachi newspaper had given very erroneous and misleading information about the round table conference I was trying to convene. Therefore, I asked Mr Noorani to work on the idea of a joint effort by all political parties. This was my idea and I had expressed my desire about political parties working jointly to help the country while addressing the bar council at Rawalpindi. I am personally hopeful that political parties will be able to sit together and form a plan to act jointly. I am not sure when it will happen, however, we will give full support to Mr Noorani.

[Question] What is stopping a joint effort by our political parties?

[Answer] I do not see any problem there. Perhaps, some egos are involved. Jamaat-e Islami (JI) is said to be in support of the present martial law regime. There is no doubt about it, and they do not make any secret about it themselves. Two parties, the JI and the ruling Muslim League, have always supported martial law regimes. However, these parties can apologize for their past deeds. If they analyze the situation realistically, they will know that the country has suffered from these martial law governments. They know that it is time to change their policy and do what the people want. I do not think we have any problem in joining our forces politically.

[Question] Some political observers believe that a merger between the NPP and the Muslim League would help to get the nation out of the present crisis. Did you ever think about it?

[Answer] I have never thought about it and do not believe that we can join them in anyway.

[Question] What are the major problems in Sind at present?

[Answer] The major problem is the lack of peace and security. All forms of governments, whether state or federal, have the duty to make sure people live in peace and harmony. People should be able to live with respect. They live happily if their self-esteem remains intact. Then there are the problems of unemployment and representation of people. The issue of representation is not peculiar to Sind; it is our national problem. Sind residents, however, are more sensitive about the issue of representation because they feel they are not adequately represented.

[Answer] Mr Jatui, how much is the present chief minister of Sind responsible for the problems in Sind?

[Answer] The situation of Ghaush Ali Shah is similar to that of Junejo. If it was not Ghaush ali Shah then it would be someone else in his position. Another Ghaush Ali Shah perhaps would have functioned 10 percent better than this one. No more.

[Question] What is your opinion about the Jiey Sind Movement, its goals, and functions?

[Answer] This movement is not new. G.M. Syed decided to break up Pakistan the very day it was established. He has openly announced that he has never recognized this country. His goal is to break up this country before he dies. Sindhis, however, are as patriotic as people in other provinces. They have defeated G.M. Syed in every election he has fought. G.M. Syed could never get himself elected to an assembly. His son got elected during the Ayub era. When the One-Unit was dismissed in 1970, G.M. Syed ran for the state assembly. Sindhis did not support him. Not one member of the Jiey Sind Movement was elected to the state or the National Assembly. However, problems in Sind continued to increase. Martial law regimes forced people to deal with majors and captains and they began to feel as if they were slaves. The martial law regime was analogous to the British rule. Englishmen had the most important positions at district and state levels. Military officers had all important positions during various martial law regimes. They began to wonder what difference did the independence make. The British were at least fair and just, while the martial law officers were not. They were physically beaten and tortured. It is human nature to rebel after suffering 9 years under a tyranny. They began to look for another type of leadership. Various fronts are the product of this period. Sindhis felt that they are being neglected and no one was paying attention to their problems. Some people took advantage of these feelings and began to invent various political fronts. This epidemic is spreading very fast. We must stop it or it will become incurable. Steps to unite people are required to end this trend.

[Question] Can you tell us what steps are necessary?

[Answer] You have to talk about rights and give them their rights. We are four brothers and I am the eldest. When our father died I thought about taking over everything being the eldest. I could have taken half of the total and told them to divide the other half in three parts. They would not have liked that and had gone to our relatives and friends for help in dealing with their brother. Failing in all their efforts, they would have picked up guns. All I want to say is that we should not force an issue to involve guns. People will be happy if they get what is due them. Pakistan was established with the support of Sindhis. How did the present situation occur? They are frustrated now and for good reason. Give them justice and their rights and they will be patriotic. If people do not get their rights then 10 Ghulam Mustafa Jatois will talk about rights ten times. You cannot save Pakistan by simply raising slogans.

[Question] Do you support the idea of taking legal action against people who talk openly against Pakistan and its ideology?

[Answer] Legal action should be taken at high level. Judges in the High Court should work together the same way they did in the case of Mumtaz Bhutto. His arrest under the MPO is illegal in my opinion. Anyone can be accused of this crime. He is being accused of many things after 4 months. People have begun to view all this with suspicion. I am not satisfied with this approach myself. Why are they talking about this case after 6 months? Why were not all these made public earlier? I strongly oppose this approach. However, anyone working against the country should be tried in an open court. They should be tried in the High Court for fair treatment.

[Question] What does your party think about the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] and the demands made by the Muhajirs?

[Answer] I do not think that their demands are unreasonable. They are just asking for their rights. This movement is also a byproduct of the martial law government and has its root in economic injustice. They are just asking for what is due them, however, the methodology they have adopted is wrong. I am a Sindhi according to the Muhajirs. That puts me with Sindhu Desh people and the supporters of Jiey Sind. We are opposed to their approach, but support their demands.

[Question] Are not these fronts which have sprung up recently a result of total lack of faith in the political parties?

[Answer] This is dangerous. When you ignore a national party and limit your political activity to a region or a faction then you are risking national security.

[Question] What specific rights in addition to what have been included in the '73 constitution does your party propose to give the provinces? What additional rights for the provinces would you like to include in the constitution?

[Answer] I can only share some assumptions here. The 1973 constitution is unacceptable from the point of provincial rights. As Wali Khan has said, the 1973 constitution died and was buried. The 1985 constitution was enacted just to confuse everyone. Some people still believe that the 1973 constitution is good and to make these people happy the 1985 constitution is being called the 1973 constitution. Wali Khan is right that this is not the 1973 constitution. I agree with him. I do not agree with the idea of bringing an old thing back and making it the basis of discussions.

[Question] Are not you talking about a new constitutional parliament?

[Question] No. A new constitutional parliament will not give a new constitution to this country. We have to sit down like brothers and make the required amendments and then follow the amended constitution. It will not work until we put it in practice. Whatever we do we must make sure that Pakistan's unity is not effected.

[Question] The left wing politicians have often said that Pakistan is made up of many ethnic groups and the problems of our country will not be solved until we recognize the ethnicity of these groups and give them their rights. What is your opinion about this view?

[Answer] This is a wide term. There are Punjabi, Sindhi, Pathan, and Baluch groups. I will look foolish if I deny them since their existence is a historical fact. You can call them races or nationalities or whatever. We all know that they have accepted Pakistan jointly. They worked hard to bring this country to existence. They made the big decision to have this country. The most important race or group is made up of Pakistanis!

[Question] Some political circles believe that our country is a political, economic, and military slave of the United States. If you agree with this observation tell us what will you do to free our country from this political, economic, and military slavery?

[Answer] I will not use the word "slavery." There is, however, this economic dependence. Several countries in Europe, Africa and [South] America, and in this continent are in a group called economically developing countries. Progress without help from international monetary agencies is difficult but not impossible. However, after this trend began, all countries find it difficult to stop it. I believe that we have to get some help according to our needs. The basic premise is that we must keep our national interests in mind when we sign a pact. Whenever you get aid you get it for Pakistan's benefits, not for other countries.

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## SECURITY AGENCIES URGED TO DEFEND NATION AGAINST TERRORISM

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 11 Apr 87 p 10

[Editorial entitled: "Sabotage--the Price of Preserving Freedom."]

[Text] A tremendous explosion occurred the other evening in Rawalpindi's crowded and busy Kashmiri Bazaar at the City Telephone Exchange Gate killing 12 people on the spot and seriously wounding nearly a hundred more. Dozens of shops were destroyed and the bloody explosion created a major panic in the market place. Words cannot sufficiently express our grief for the innocent people killed and sympathy for their relatives. The criminals responsible for this cowardly act are to be strongly condemned because to achieve their heinous objectives, they killed innocent people and destroyed the happiness of many families. There can be no mistake as to the identity of the criminals responsible for this barbaric act. In February, a similar fearful explosion rocked Garhi Qamar Din, a suburb of Peshawar; on March 23, a public meeting under the chairmanship of Allama Ehsan Ilahi Zahir was made their target of sabotage; now, by committing this savage act in Punjab's second largest city, the enemy is trying to spread fear and apprehension and create a sense of insecurity among the people. As was to be expected, this new round of terrorism against the people of Pakistan started just as the negotiations in Geneva got under way. Wave after wave of Afghan Air Force planes started attacking Pakistani territory; the destructive bombing of Teri Mangal was carried out on 23 March in which many innocent people were killed. Death and destruction still continue; Afghan planes violate Pakistan's air space continuously and carry out destructive bombings; long range artillery bombardment is carried out and trained terrorists and saboteurs set off explosives in public places. Russia is in fact trying to intimidate the people of Pakistan with the objective of pushing through a solution of the Afghan problem on its own terms. Ironically, during his tour of India last november, when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev extended the hand of friendship and peace towards Pakistan, the latter responded positively. Before the start of negotiations in Geneva, Pakistan's foreign minister twice visited Moscow in order to take full advantage of Russia's offer of peace. But in spite of all this, the Soviet government continues its particular machinations and, in order to increase pressure upon Pakistan, has stepped up bombings, sabotage and new terrorism. A special lobby in Pakistan is spreading propaganda to the effect that if Pakistan should reject Russia's proffered hand of friendship, Russia would in turn step up its retaliatory activities. This



line of reasoning may merit attention but Pakistan has not been accused from any quarter of spurning with hatred Russia's offer of amity. This argument of retaliatory action thus makes no sense. In this connection, Khan Wali Khan, the son of the Red Shirt leader and Frontier Gandhi, has taunted that if explosives were set off in Kabul and Qandahar, Pakistan would not be sent bouquets in return. Wali Khan's taunt would be justified if Pakistani nationals were involved in explosions in Kabul and Qandahar. Since 1979, an open war has been in progress in Afghanistan; the people of Afghanistan have been waging a long drawn out and taxing war against control by Russian troops and the puppet government in Kabul. If Pakistan is involved in this war, it is only to this extent that it has given sanctuary to the robbed and wounded Afghan families, the women, children and the weak fleeing from the murdering and plundering Communist forces in Afghanistan. This is the crime for which Pakistan is being punished.

It is certain that if Pakistan had not made even this gesture of sympathy towards its oppressed Muslim Afghan brothers, they would have been destroyed within Afghanistan; and the free, neutral, independent Muslim country of Afghanistan would have become a Soviet republic. In that event, Pakistan's freedom and sovereignty would have been seriously in danger. Pakistan's Afghan policy, therefore, is aimed at preserving the country's freedom. The cowardly and shameful incidents of bombings, shelling, sabotage and terrorism are extracting the price for the preservation of freedom. There is no doubt that the people of Pakistan who sacrificed honor, property and life in order to gain freedom and who were not deterred by oceans of blood and fire from achieving their goal of liberty, will not be afraid of making great sacrifices for the sake of preserving their national freedom and integrity. The enemy will never succeed in crushing the spirit exhibited by the energetic people of Rawalpindi in caring for the wounded and providing drugs for them after the explosion. Inside the hospital, there was a throng of volunteer blood donors; those collecting blood ran out of bottles for collecting blood several times, but blood donors continued to line up. The people exhibited a similar national spirit in the 1965 war between Pakistan and India. Books on war and military theories all agree that not even the most powerful army can defeat a nation that is alive; human history shows that spirit and courage cannot be conquered. But at this juncture, the people will have to be vigilant and on their guard; and the government and security organizations will have to fulfill their duties effectively in order to reduce as much as possible the damage done by the enemy. It is unfortunate that the persons who sabotaged the meeting of Jamiat-e Ahle Hadis in Garhi Qamar Din and Lahore remain free even after weeks and months have passed. If the departments in charge had not exhibited such incompetence but instead, had quickly caught and hanged the perpetrators of the first incidents at the site of their crimes, the bloody incident at Rawalpindi would not have occurred. Although the prime minister and the chief minister of Punjab have asked to see the reports on the performance of all the intelligence organizations, the people still have the right to know how the dozens of secret agencies are serving the interests of the taxpayers. Reporting on speeches made in political meetings and watching the movements of personal opponents cannot be considered achievements when enemies of the country and the people and those seeking to overturn public life through terrorism remain free and are not watched even in public shopping areas.

The performance and usefulness of these agencies should be scrutinized and they should be kept vigilant in the defense of national freedom and integrity. At the same time, political parties also should play a responsible role so that a united and confident nation may prove to be a wall of steel in the face of the common enemy.

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## COMMENTARY SUGGESTS STEPS TO PEACE, STABILITY IN SOUTH ASIA

Karachi JANG in Urdu 13 May 87 p 3

[Article by Maulana Irshadul Haq Thanvi: "F-16 Planes And The Let Down"]

[Text] It is a given fact that whenever there is talk of America giving military aid to Pakistan, the Indian-Russian-Israeli lobby, like an automatic machine, starts raising a hue and cry on the international level.

But the F-16 aircraft were a category apart . The international media was singing the praises of its incredible fighting qualities with such confidence and expertise that every Pakistani, including myself, was happy to think that this was the most powerful weapon next only to the atom bomb and that now indeed our country had become invincible.

In opposing this aircraft India hit the sky. Naturally we began to believe that compared to our F-16 the Indian atomic explosion was small fry. You may perhaps remember commentaries of those days provided you visited India or read Indian newspapers. The Indians, whether in homes, offices, clubs or hotels, in short, everywhere, were obsessed with the F-16. Our head was held even higher with pride when we learned that only a few of these miracles of craftsmanship, the most sophisticated weapon, the F-16, were left and that Pakistan would get them one by one and two by two in a few years. This is exactly what happened and we all fell into a pleasant sleep.

But alas! we were rudely awakened when we read in a newspaper one morning that our one F-16 aircraft had been destroyed in its very first action by a Kabul air force missile. In other words the roar of the F-16 turned out to be merely sound and fury signifying nothing. Someone has said that when bad times come even your shadow deserts you. The same world press which was untiring in singing the praises of the F-16 now began to find fault and said that the planes that Pakistan got were older models which American forces do not even use.

Yes sir, this is the remarkable thing about the Americans and Russians. They have divided their allies into two categories. They supply good material to one and inferior material to the other. The Russians had supplied SAM missiles to Egypt but during the Egypt Israel war, when they were put into action, they got jammed. Thus Egypt lost the war. The same Soviet Union

such weapons to India during the 1971 Pak-India war that, as you may remember, Indian fighter planes achieved air supremacy over Karachi without any obstruction and knocked out our navy.

On the other hand, during the 1965 Pak-India war, the Sabrejet fighters we obtained from America not only maintained complete control over Pakistani airspace but also destroyed many Indian airfields. American friendship toward Pakistan dried up in 1962 when India began fighting China instead of Pakistan. The two superpowers continue to supply arms to the two warring Muslim countries, Iraq and Iran, somehow or other, but in a way calculated so that the war may continue and the power of Muslims may dissipate.

Now, after the F-16 incident, Pakistan is trying to obtain AWACS planes. Once again we see a repetition of the scenario: the same descriptions of the unique qualities of AWACS, the same international furor on behalf of the Russian-Indian-Israeli lobby, and the same American airs which marked the acquisition of the F-16 planes. Even if Pakistan does obtain these planes, who knows if, after their use tomorrow, it will be disclosed that these too, like the F-16's were older models which the American forces had stopped using.

I do not have even the remotest connection with the Air force, but we may all remember the newspaper reports in which one of the remarkable qualities of the F-16 was said to be its most advanced and effective radar system. Now AWACS planes are being discussed for their radar because some foreign newspapers had disclosed that certain advanced systems had been removed from the F-16 planes that Pakistan was getting. In the light of experience it is not difficult to guess what will be the fate of the AWACS. Saudi Arabia too had been leased AWACS planes, and these were manned by Americans. Israeli F-16 aircraft passed through Saudi Arabia and, after destroying the Iraqi atomic plant, returned safely home. So there are also AWACS which look the other way.

By these submissions I certainly do not mean that we should not make an effort or that we should sit content doing nothing. Nor is it practicable to turn to Russia instead of America in order to increase our defense strength. I have already mentioned that America and Russia both do not trust Muslim countries. Therefore they do not supply such effective war materials to their Muslim friends as may prove ruinous to their [real] friends, India and Israel. Examples of India and Egypt have been presented. Libyan President Qadhafi is considered America's biggest enemy. His country, his person and his family have been the target of many an American attack. Despite this, Col Qadhafi has not been able to win the Soviet Union's confidence. According to the latest reports there have been serious differences between Libya and Russia over the supply of arms and now Col Qadhafi is establishing contacts with China to acquire arms.

It is possible Libya may succeed in defending itself with Chinese arms, but Pakistan cannot face India, Afghanistan and Russia with only Chinese weaponry. Doubtless, national unity is a big weapon and we should all work hard to achieve it, but in the modern world of science, unity alone does not cut much ice. During the 1965 war we had achieved exemplary national unity. If

at that time we had not had American Sabrejets, tanks, etc., our armed forces could not have continued the war for 17 days and the war would have undergone a sea change in a matter of 3-4 days. It is because of weapons that we could fight for 17 days and this gave us the opportunity to reap the fruits of our foreign policy. In other words, China, with its vast human war machine prepared to attack India and this saved Pakistan.

However, China today is very different from the China of those days and in this field our old diplomacy is not only ineffective but, due to various reasons, it is dead. Even though the interests of both America and Russia are directly and indirectly connected with Pakistan, America does not supply Pakistan with the latest, most sophisticated arms lest Pakistan should pass them on to the Arabs for use against Israel. This too is the sole reason for American opposition to our peaceful atomic plant. If our rulers can display their full sagacity, statesmanship, courage and expertise in dispelling the apprehensions of America, then this success could prove to be an invincible weapon for Pakistan for the next 50 years.

There is a school of thought which believes that if we can form a friendship with Russia all our problems will be solved. This is a nice thought, but how can it be achieved? The plain fact is that our relations with Russia can be good only when we break off completely with America. Our problem is that we are encircled in an ancient and explosive region where, along with national unity, we also need a superpower's confidence. The practical implication of the above line of thought is that we should throw ourselves at the mercy of Russia in very much the same way as Afghanistan, which has been associated with Russia for a long time.

The example of India [in this context] is not correct. Firstly, India is many times bigger than we are and secondly, it does not adjoin the Soviet Union. That is why, despite its inclination toward Russia, it manages to get much from America. But on the day when God forbid, the Soviet Union, destroys Pakistan's integrity and reaches India's borders, it will disintegrate India by sending saboteurs in and by giving aid to separatists. Thus it will succeed in establishing its supremacy in Asia. The fact is that India's security and integrity depend on Pakistan's security and integrity. I say defiantly that the presence of Russian forces in Afghanistan is no longer a problem for Pakistan alone. In fact thousands of years of history are likely to be repeated once again and the danger from the North is knocking on the doors of India. India indeed is the real target.

Today the Russians are peering over Pakistan's border and, by bombarding Pakistan with Kabul's airforce, instigating explosions by saboteurs, and enriching separatists with the unlimited wealth of weapons and drugs, they have initiated the process of damaging Pakistan's integrity. On the one hand, it is being said that the new Russian leader Gorbachev has agreed to recall Russian troops soon and, in this connection, only a difference of a few months remains between the two parties. On the other hand, bombardments of Pakistan and explosions are increasing every day.



I pointed out in one of my past articles that, even though it is my wish and prayer that the Russian forces pull out of Afghanistan, the indications are that the Russians will never get out without realizing the objective of their operation. So far as Afghanistan is concerned, it has been in Russia's pocket for the last 3 decades. It entered Afghanistan after long, drawn out deliberation. It's target is not Afghanistan but rather Pakistan and India. It is buying time by means of talks. Assuredly it cannot invade Pakistan until such time as an Afghani-style government is installed in Pakistan or unless Pakistan's integrity is damaged by means of internal sabotage, explosions, bombings by Kabul planes and a civil war caused by tensions among various nationalities, thus paving the way for their supporters to come into power. It is putting up with these long and arduous stages only out of fear of America, otherwise it would have been all over in a snap.

We know that dependence on Afghanistan's friendship will bear Afghanistan-like fruits. We will have to give up our culture, our religion and our civilization and embrace instead semi-godlessness and socialism. Do we need Russian friendship of the kind that is accorded to the Soviet Union's southern Muslim states, Afghanistan, Poland and Bulgaria? An honorable and real friendship with the Soviet Union is possible only if it makes us fully nonaligned. That is, it should make us militarily so self-sufficient and strong that we do not have to be friendly with a country thousands of miles away. The only workable solutions to this are: 1. Russian troops should pull out of Afghanistan immediately; 2. As soon as the Russians leave there should be a peace accord among Afghanistan, Pakistan and India according to which the land and sea regions of these countries should be declared free from atomic weapons and foreign forces.

If the Russians do not agree to this and in pursuit of their objective they try to buy time by hemming and hawing, then how can Pakistan be expected to offer its security and integrity on a platter? Clearly under the second scenario we will have to further strengthen our relations with China, America and the Muslim world. We will have to convince America in particular that, if it does not want to lose its only old friend in Asia and thus endanger its interests, it should show itself to be a true and real friend of Pakistan and put faith in Pakistan's assurance of not providing American weapons to the Arabs for use against Israel. For this purpose even a 10-15 year agreement can be signed. This will also remove the basis for any American objections to the Pakistani atomic program.

America is fully aware of the extent to which the most important interests of America, Europe and Japan hinge upon the security and integrity of Pakistan. At the moment Pakistan is waging a lonely war.

Thousands of saboteurs in the guise of Afghan refugees are making life unbearable for our people throughout the country. If, God forbid, Pakistan is hurt, no one can save Russia and America from atomic war or complete destruction. This consequence has been stated by the statesmen and thinkers of these very countries. Wisdom dictates that America, Russia and India should recognize the real danger in time and save the human race as well as themselves from death. It is necessary that an accord be immediately reached to declare South Asia, including Afghanistan free from atomic weapons and foreign troops.

If the big powers, proud of their strength, insist on continuing to play their games, then there is another way. Both India and Pakistan, in the interests of their security and integrity, should become friends on the basis of equality. They have coexisted for thousands of years. Now they face a common danger. Therefore they should give up the luxury of obsession with supremacy and become friends. Because of their united voice, Russian forces will immediately withdraw from Afghanistan and India will be able to pay undivided attention to the crises within the country. Moreover, by including Afghanistan in SAARC, all the SAARC countries can be put on the path of peace, progress and prosperity.

Pakistani people should immediately start working hard to achieve unity. Dividing the country into mutually warring nationalities will facilitate the evil designs of the enemies of Pakistan. Let us be very clear that, whatever we have today, after disintegration we will not be left with even a tiny portion of it. In fact not a stone will be left to tell where we lie buried.

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## SIND OPPOSES SHARING OF LOCAL BODIES' FUNDS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by Jawaid Bokhari]

[Text]

KARACHI, May 23: Sind is opposed to inclusion of the question of sharing of funds between provinces and the local bodies in the terms of reference of the National Finance Commission, it was gathered here today.

The Sind Government is of the firm opinion that the National Finance Commission is only authorised under Clause 160 of the Constitution to make recommendations regarding sharing of revenues between the Federal and Provincial Governments. The subject of finances of the local bodies is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces.

It may be recalled that the Federal Government had turned down a request from the provinces in 1979 to give grants to meet deficits faced by local bodies.

The position then taken by the Centre was that the local bodies were a provincial responsibility.

The remedy, it was suggested, did not lie in picking up their deficits by the Federation but making these institutions work on self-financing basis by raising local resources.

Sind has, therefore, proposed that the issue of local bodies finances should be taken out of the purview of the NFC.

Some time ago, a leading financial institution had also invited local bodies to send feasible projects which would qualify for loans. Applications from Faisalabad, Multan and Pishin were sent and are presently being processed by the concerned financial institutions.

The terms of the Finance

Commission include (A) Taxes on income, including corporation tax, but not including taxes on income consisting of remuneration paid out of Federal consolidated fund. (B) Taxes on sales and purchases of goods imported, exported, produced and manufactured or consumed (C) Export duty on cotton and excise duty on tobacco and tobacco manufactures.

Presently, 80 per cent of the net proceeds of taxes on income, sales and purchases and export duties on cotton are assigned to the provinces on population basis.

The Sind Government is also believed to have sought Federal subsidy for the province's urban transport. Prices of petrol and diesel are comparatively lower in Karachi but the equalisation surcharge has enabled the Federal Government to subsidise petroleum and diesel consumed in the rest of the country.

The subsidy on petrol has minimised the province's ability to enhance motor vehicle taxation and on the other hand adversely affected the industrial labour living about 20 miles from their place of work, owing to high transport cost.

Sind has claimed 60 per cent of excess amount recovered by the Federal Government from petrol and diesel consumers of Karachi as grant-in-aid for subsidising urban transport.

It has also sought a special grant for reconditioning of roads in the province ravaged by heavy trailers of NLC, a Federal Gov-

ernment venture which does not pay any motor vehicle tax in Sind.

It has also proposed that cash development loans should be converted into cash development grants because the province utilises CDL mainly on the creation of social infrastructure. These loans become a complete liability on the provincial exchequer.

Pleading for a greater proportion of Federal taxes including excise duty and sales tax, the Sind government has pointed out that loss of revenue incurred by the Federal government would enable the provinces to meet their ever increasing deficits which are in any case financed by Islamabad.

Knowledgeable quarters here said it was absolutely necessary for the provinces to become economically self-reliant to end dependency and frustration.

Since the bulk of the funds are committed and disbursed by Islamabad for the Federally approved Provincial Development Programme the execution of various development schemes is unduly delayed.

The current year's Annual Development Plan of Sind, it is pointed out, has been implemented to the extent of only 55 per cent in the first nine months. Only three months were thus left to utilise the rest of the 45 per cent of the financial targets of the ADP for 1986-87.

Decentralisation, it is felt, would impart efficiency in the collection of taxes and their utilisation.

## COMMENTARY EXAMINES MUSLIM LEAGUE UNITY, PROBLEMS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Jun 87

[Article by Khalid Akhtar]

[Text]

The move to unite various factions of the PML has largely gone by un-noticed. The reason is understandable. With no unity-seeking faction enjoying any significant popular support success or failure of the unification move is least likely to usher any qualitative change on the political horizon of the country. The most viable faction of the PML — Malik Qasim group — continues to confront the ruling party. And any unification move sans Malik Qasim faction will be a meaningless exercise.

**POLITICAL ILLS**

Unfortunately the history of the country's political parties has never been a spectacular one. It has been a story of constant infighting and decay that has known no end. No political party worth the name has escaped this fate and the bigger the party greater the turmoil it has faced. They have emerged on the scene overnight and disappeared similarly. This is a sorry state of affairs and is to blame for much of the country's political ills.

Ironically the party in power today is the one mainly responsible for plunging the country into political confusion. The process of disintegration, set in the PML after the death of Quaid-e-Azam, has continued till today. Today the League is split into four factions, each claiming to be the real inheritor of the Quaid's legacy, but none is practising his political thoughts or pursuing his political philosophy.

What amends the PML can make now when it finds itself in the corridor of power through a mechanism of strange events? Limited as the electoral exercise was (this is the only way to describe the non-party polls) it

could have produced only limited results. And they are there. There is no longer the suffocation of the martial law days and there is now greater liberalisation in the country than at any stage in the last decade. But these laurels are not enough to sustain the PML in power. There hangs a big question mark about 1990. . . There is every possibility that the 90s may unfold a new set of realities different from those prevailing in 1985 which witnessed the ascendancy to power of the Muslim League.

But 1990 is far off and Mr. Junejo's PML may be confronted with a challenge earlier. Lacking a popular base, Mr. Junejo's Government has remained surrounded by uncertainties. Recently, Mahmood Haroon, the former Federal Minister, was seen engaged in unusual activities. Since then there has been a move to remove the 'defection clause'. It is possible that the purpose of this whole exercise may be no more than to convey a message to Mr. Junejo by the powers that be. But all this shows the vulnerability of Mr. Junejo's position. In today's Pakistan politics the role of Sardar Qayyum the Kashmiri leader, and Mahmood Haroon, has remained meaningful. Their activities, particularly when the political situation has been fluid, in most cases have proved a harbinger of important political developments.

**NO STRATEGY**

The PML apparently does not seem to have any strategy to deal with a situation like this. It has relied heavily on the assumption that the dismissal of the PML Government would create a constitutional crisis that none would like to have. However, of late the PML has sought greater manoeuvrability. In this respect Mr. Junejo's contact with Maulana Fazlur Rehman of JUI sometime back was

a significant move. Somehow the PML has not been able to follow this up with other initiatives. Probably PML limitations, the major being its tenuous position in the power-sharing structure, have seriously curtailed the party's options.

### UNIFICATION MOVE

The on-going unification move will hardly bring any support to the PML. After the death of Khan Qayyum Khan his faction has gone into oblivion. The Liaquat group of the PML only exists on paper. And finally KH. Khairuddin's unpredictability has landed him in 'no-man's land'. The MRD has slammed its doors on him and he knows not which way to look. His faction enjoys no more support among the masses than the other two seeking unification with the ruling party.

Interestingly the ruling party has not responded enthusiastically to these factions' quest for merger. As a matter of fact Mr. Junejo does not seem to have liked the idea. His hesitancy probably springs from the realisation that unification with non-entities while not widening the party's base can create organisational problem for him. After all the new entrants would want to share the spoils of the ruling party.

Significantly Mr. Junejo did not even meet the delegation of the three Muslim League factions that had arrived in the capital for unity talks. Apart from creating embarrassment for all, this suggests that in the PML decision making domain one hand does not know what the other is doing. No matter how insignificant the unity-seeking factions may have been the PML was supposed to approach the matter with consensus and deal with the issue in a business-like manner. But it did neither. Such lapses do no good to a party's image.

Eversince its accession to power nearly two years back the PML has hardly at any time looked a coherent body. Its infighting has often surfaced, at times taking a

serious turn. The Pir Pagara, Nawaz Sharif tussle, only resolved recently gave the PML quite a few anxious moments. Worst is the constant bickering in the party. The PML has sharply split on regional issues and on such occasions the party's whips have failed to control voting in the house. During the last session of the Assembly the PML narrowly escaped defeat on the issue of debate on the Karachi situation. This is not all. The scenario has appeared amusing when Pir Pagara in his lighter vein has sought to differentiate between his League and Junejo's League.

### WEAK 'THINK TANK'

Another challenge facing Junejo is to organise the party at all levels. The seven and three marla schemes will win some support for the party, but nothing can substitute for the motivated organisational work at the grass-root level. The PML business must not remain a drawing-room affair. Unfortunately the 'think tank' of the PML has remained rather weak. The League leaders have frequently indulged in rhetoric, or quoted the Quaid profusely (everyone would like then to seek guidance from the Quaid but overdoing it reduces the whole exercise to ritual) but rarely came out with an idea as to how to deal with a particular situation.

Mr. Junejo has repeatedly said that the PML should utilise the opportunity that has come its way. It is a stupendous task to rehabilitate the Muslim League. More than once, it has, in the eyes of the opposition, become a tool for authoritarianism. Whether Junejo can dispel this impression will be a crucial question for himself, the Muslim League and the country. 1965 has witnessed quite a relaxation and both President Zia and Premier Junejo have claimed credit for it. But the two have been a bit hasty in their conclusion. Most of the issues have been kept pending. Who earns how much credit will be decided in 1990.

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CSO: 4600/242



## LOCAL ELECTIONS; ISSUE SAID CONFUSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Jun 87 p 8

## [Text]

KARACHI, May 23: There seems to be all-round confusion on the issue of the forthcoming local bodies elections as the Federal Cabinet too, in its last meeting on May 21, decided to put off the discussion on the subject till its next session some time in the first week of June.

Political parties including those in the MRD alliance were already indecisive on the issue and were eagerly awaiting announcement about the procedure and modalities of the L. B. polls last week, so that they could work out strategies.

Instead, the Federal Cabinet devoted almost its entire time in affirming the outlines of the next Five Year Plan which was announced by the Federal Minister Dr. Mahbubul Haq and which kept the political parties in the lurch about participation in the polls.

So now the political parties have started blaming the government for being indecisive, confused and divided on the issue and, therefore, unable to take an early decision on how to hold the polls.

However when contacted, the government circles maintain that discussion on the local bodies polls were put off in last cabinet meeting because the entire time was taken up by the next Five Year

Plan debate.

They said the issue of the L.B. polls was also of vital importance and needed a full dress discussion which they hoped confidently would be held either on June 3 or 4 next, in the Federal cabinet meeting.

The sources said that local bodies ministers of all the four provinces would also attend the meeting to apprise the Federal Government of point of views of their respective provinces.

The local Muslim League and Sind Government circles confirmed the lack of consensus on whether or not to allow the participation of political parties in the forthcoming elections.

But another issue they identified on which also there was lack of unanimity, was the future organisational setup and functioning of the Karachi Metropolitan Corporation.

They said that the Chief Secretary of Sind Mr. Masud Zaman and some other experts have proposed decentralisation of the KMC and its break up at district levels.

Karachi has three districts and there are proposals to create one or two more. The city may

have four or five districts.

Hence in the future KMC would also split into four or five Councils representing each district of the city on which there is sharp conflict of opinions among the local Muslim Leaguers themselves.

A section of the Muslim League, including a few Ministers of the Sind Cabinet, maintain that decentralisation of the KMC would help in greater focussing of local issues and hence better attention for development.

But a very strong section within the Muslim League and other political parties consider the proposal as dangerous which would further sharpen the ethnic conflict in the city which is already fragmented.

They regard the proposal as "Balkanisation" of KMC which in no way would serve any area of the city as the Council, which would represent posh areas and collect the bulk of revenue, would never endorse its spending on less developed areas of the city.

However they hoped that the next Federal Cabinet meeting would consider the proposal with all pros and cons before taking any decision on the issue.

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## BALUCHISTAN CHIEF MINISTER TALKS ABOUT CAMPUS VIOLENCE

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Jun 87 p 8

[Article by Tariq Butt]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, May 23: Baluchistan Chief Minister Mir Jam Ghulam Qadir said Saturday that abundant sophisticated arms supplied to students by some political parties were the root cause of frequent outbursts of bloody clashes in the campuses.

In an informal talk with "The Muslim" he said Thursday's clash between some rival students bodies in Baluchistan's three major institutions forcing their closure, was not of a "serious nature". Six students were hurt in the bloody fight, one of whom died later.

The Chief Minister said the political parties which supply arms to students used them at their will to score political gains. Similarly students who get monetary assistance from the parties have to obey their commands.

Jam Ghulam Qadir felt that the recurring commotion and turbulence on the campuses had assumed alarming proportions and had become a national malaise. He said a solution should be searched at the national level.

However, the Chief Minister did not agree with the suggestion that the students clashes display any conflict between Baluchis and Pathans of the province. He said that view was aired by political parties to further their ulterior motives.

He said so far as his administration was concerned, it was treating all the tribes equally. There is no discrimination what-

soever in giving employment.

To a question he said he did not favour any move of 'no confidence' against the Speaker of the Baluchistan Assembly. He said that the Speaker cooperated with him and had done his job excellently.

The Chief Minister said it was not possible to properly patrol the long border of Baluchistan touching other countries to monitor the sneaking in of terrorists. He said the saboteurs stealthily got into the province through unmanned places of the border and fled back after completion of their mission.

Jam Ghulam Qadir said the frequent sabotage activities happening in different parts of the province were indicative of the involvement of the Khat agents. He said some locals had also been found collaborating with these elements.

He said dozens of locals and foreigners had been netted so far on the charge of sabotage. They are being tried by special tribunals, which already exist in accordance with the Constitution.

The Chief Minister said the objective of these terrorists was quite clear. They wanted Pakistan to change its firm stand on the Afghan issue.

He did not comment over the question whether he would expand his cabinet.

Jam Ghulam Qadir expressed ignorance of the creation of a reserve force at the Federal level with due representation of his province.

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CSO: 4600/242

## ELECTION COMMISSION URGED TO CANCEL MUSLIM LEAGUE REGISTRATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 24 Jun 87 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, May 23: MRD Secretary General Malik Qasim today urged the Election Commission of Pakistan to cancel the registration of the ruling Muslim League claiming that it had lost its legal status as a political party.

He told a group of newsmen that by March last the ruling Muslim League must have elected its office-bearers and central general council to replace the present nominated ones, as required by its constitution. But it failed to do so. Hence its status as a political party is not valid.

Malik Qasim said the Political Parties Act clearly provides that any party that violates its own constitution shall lose its status as such. He stressed that the Election Commission should invoke the relevant law and declare the Muslim League as illegal.

To a question the MRD leader said the alliance would decide about its participation in the local bodies polls after the authorities announce its modalities and rules.

He claimed that the government could twist the 1979 local bodies law to keep the MRD candidates out of the elections.

Malik Qasim subjected the ruling party to harsh criticism. He said it was not the Quaid's League but the Generals' League. It is

the creation of the martial law and would be finished when out of power.

He alleged that the army had nominated Mr Junejo as the Prime Minister to serve their interest.

The MRD leader said the majority of the people included in the Muslim League was not the Leaguers. These people would lose no time in joining other political parties as soon as the ruling Muslim League came under a cloud.

Malik Qasim said that the frequent voices raised for the removal of the defection clause in fact betrayed the disenchantment of the MNAs and Senators over their association with the ruling party. This shows that they were the compulsive members of the party.

He told a reporter that there was nothing wrong in meeting the leaders of the parties outside the MRD fold. However, he clarified, he had not met anyone from the Jamaat-e-Islami and the ruling party.

The MRD Secretary-General was extremely unhappy over President Zia and his family's going for "umra". He said it was sheer wastage of the national money as mere rituals are not accepted by God.

Malik Qasim said the MRD when voted to power would make accountable all those who wasted the national money.

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## EDITORIAL CONCERNED OVER RENEWED JVP MILITANCY

BK291443 Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 22 Apr 87 p 4

[Editorial: "The JVP"]

[Text] A rash of incidents has led to an islandwide alert against renewed JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna; People's Liberation Front] militancy.

At Pallekelle last week, they made a daring raid on an army camp and got away with 13 automatic and 7 sub-machine guns. The assault was carried out by men disguised in military uniforms. Other reports suggest that firearms issued to villagers for their protection have got into the hands of the JVP.

Proscribed or not, clearly the organization is engaged in a major arms build-up. That in turn is testimony of some revived administrative structure intent upon some fairly early strike.

At all events, the security alert must go far beyond vigilance against new attacks. That in itself is important. But investigations must go beyond what is readily visible.

It was a feature of the 1971 outbreak that it was largely believed to have had foreign links. Despite the persistence of that warning, the then authorities chose to cover up rather than uncover the outside connections. Men in high places berated observers who asked for a detailed report--for some bold identification of the foreign elements concerned. Why? Who can say?

Today, it could be possible that those masterminding JVP activity are spurred by the thought that if the fighting in the North and East is called off, the JVP itself might find itself isolated.

Whatever their strategy, it challenges our security intelligence. The JVP is a southern-based group. Superficially, they may like to forge temporary links with the young Tamil guerrillas. However, that might be, our security men ought to launch their own drive to arrive at the men and their thinking behind the latest JVP forages.

For better or for worse, the JVP plainly has been trying to make inroads into the various campuses in the country. Who are the top-most leaders today? Who are their regional commanders?

Like the terrorists, they probably are more certain of their immediate tactics than of any far-reaching plan for the future.

Mercifully, the state is better equipped to ward off any armed challenge today than it was in 1971. Still national peace and progress is rarely achieved by gunfire. The terrorists demand Eelam; the JVP seek a southern Marxist style despotism. Neither prospect will satisfy the aspirations of a community pledged to democracy and the rule of law.

Nevertheless, any set of rebels is capable of putting the nation in peril. The emergency of the JVP just now is probably calculated. Who, then, is the evil genius behind the latest campaign? It is crucial that we should know. It is equally crucial that the nation should awaken to the current danger.

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